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ABSTRACT

This document presents a case study of the controversy between freeway developers associated with the Washington State Highway Department and citizens of Montlake community, Seattle. The intent is to provide information to other neighborhood and community groups on successful citizen activism strategies. In the opening section, a chronology of events is presented to detail the process by which Montlake came to see the R.H. Thompson Expressway a threat. Information is presented on planning commission statements, highway department announcements, freeway-related bond issues, statements in favor of and opposed to the freeway, court hearings, and media coverage. The second section analyzes events discussed in the chronology, with emphasis on approaches within the anti-freeway effort which were particularly successful. Topics discussed include the mobilizing ideology of the anti-freeway coalition, techniques used to organize home-owners in the proposed freeway corridor, political characteristics of anti-freeway activists, and application of lessons learned in the Montlake experience to other citizen participation efforts. Appended materials include maps of Seattle and the Montlake community area, copies of newspaper clippings, special bulletins related to the controversy over freeway construction, and an artist's conception of the proposed freeway. (DB)

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THE MONTLAKE COMMUNITY AND THE R. H. THOMSON EXPRESSWAY: A Preliminary Case Study of a Successful Freeway Fight

Margaret (Peggy) Connon Johnson

Seattle, Washington

July, 1979

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PREFACE

The case study which follows began as an assignment in Public Administration 506, "The Law of Citzen Participation," taught by Patricia M. Lines at the Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Washington, during Spring Quarter, 1973. Ms. Lines, in fact, suggested "the Montlake community and their fight against the R. H. Thomson" as a good example for a case study during the initial meeting of the class. I approached her after class, indicating that surely someone had already written this story. "No," she said, "it's not been done."

The tale has proven to be an absorbing one, with so many characters and subplots that I have not yet neared completion of the narrative. Each person interviewed thinks of others who should be questioned. Each newspaper account reveals new "facts" which need further investigation.

I have agreed to allow my colleagues at Seattle University to use this preliminary report as one of five case studies being prepared as part of a federally funded project to establish a system for providing useful information to community groups. The report, although still incomplete, contains much inspiration for any citizen activist--and some genuine hints on strategies as well.

During the coming months, I plan to sort out more clearly the legal details of the homeowners' suits directed by Alfred Schweppe. Without these intricate maneuverings in court, the Thomson would have been built long before the Montlake community (and other communities the length of the city) became wholly aware of the impending freeway and its implications.

Also needing further exploration are the funding complexities of the RHT and its relationship to the Forward Thrust trarsit bond issues. I am afraid that some parts of the story will never be fully explored--the role played by various anti-freeway activists in the election campaigns for mayor and city council, for instance.

The reader will quickly discover that the Montlake community did not act alone. Support for the fight against the freeway gathered as neighborhood after neighborhood discovered itself in the path of the proposed RHT or its connections with other freeways. The expressway which the Montlake community found to be a threat was a small part of a much larger system of proposed highways, a "one-mile grid," as anti-freeway activists came to call it.

For help with my work thus far, I have many people to thank: Pat Lines, for her inspiration and guidance; Maynard Arsove, who has spent many hours reliving his anti-Thomson efforts with me; Margaret Tunks, who has aided me in telling the real story and who has loaned me an impressive collection of materials; Don Gibbs, who has taken time and effort to send his comments from Davis, California, while in the midst of packing for a trip to China; Clif Harby, who has shared with me the chronology of the RHT which he wrote back in 1970 while an employee of the Seattle Engineering Department. Harby, incidentally, has suggested that I talk with several individuals who were among those planning the Thomson route; it seems important that their side of the story be told.

I owe warm thanks also to the staff of the city's Municipal Reference Library, who have graciously shared their resources, and to Julie Burr and Linda Fitzpatrick--for urging me on.

Margaret (Peggy) Connon Johnson
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July, 1979

A CHRONOLOGY

At what point does a community begin to view a freeway as a threat? In the case of Seattle's Montlake community and R. H. Thomson Expressway, the process took many years.

The "Bogue Plan" for the City of Seattle, published in 1911, first designated the Empire Way as an arterial.[1] On Bogue's maps, red dots indicated Empire Way extending northward along the west side of the University of Washington Arboretum and across Montlake Bridge.

In 1926, the newly created Seattle Planning Commission studied several route locations and recommended that the City Council extend Empire Way northward along 28th Avenue East to Boyer and 24th Avenues East, then north to the Montlake Bridge, along Montlake Boulevard to 24th Avenue N.E., and northward along that route to Bothell Way and N.E. 94th Street. Further recommendations were made in 1930 by the City Engineer for a location north of the Ship Canal. The recommended route followed Montlake Boulevard and 25th Avenue N.E. to N.E. 91st Street and Bothell Way.[2]

Strong hints of the expressway plans which were to evolve appeared in a 1953 Seattle Times story featuring a photograph of construction work on the extension of Empire Way northward from Rainier Avenue, "designed eventually to furnish a new by-pass of downtown Seattle for north-south traffic."[3] The article went on to explain that "future plans call for extending the route on northward to a new bridge across Union Bay."

Empire Way was designated a limited access route in 1957 in a publication of the Seattle City Planning Commission.[4] The

authors suggested parkway treatment and recommended that Empire Way "ultimately be developed as a limited access expressway from Boeing Access Road to the north city limits."[5]

During the summer of 1958, The Seattle Post-Intelligencer equated Empire Way to "a concrete ribbon gradually being unwound."[6] Specific plans for the Montlake area seemed to be evolving: "Eventually Empire Way will extend along west margin of University of Washington Arboretum and join state highway system at north city limits."

Later that year, the Arboretum Foundation expressed concern about the proposed route of the Empire Way extension in a letter to City Engineer Roy Morse. A Japanese tea garden and a teahouse (the latter a gift from the City of Tokyo) were to be built on the west side of the Arboretum and opened in conjunction with the 1961 World's Fair. In his reply, Morse asserted that the location of the proposed expressway had not yet been finalized, but that the Engineering Department would be happy to work with the Foundation as plans progressed.[7]

Impact upon the Arboretum, with its flowers and trees, continued to be questioned. The Argus sounded a note of warning in its issue of August 21, 1959. Offering an artist's conception of the elaborate interchange necessitated by the linking of the Empire Way extension with the proposed Evergreen Point Bridge, the publication charged that "both the Toll Bridge and the City Engineer's offices seem reluctant to release official drawings of the plans for the various highways, interchanges and cloverleafs that will, to all extent and purposes, destroy the northern end of the Arboretum.[8]

That fall, an illustrated article in The Seattle Times announced the city's plan to "soften the impact of the Empire Way Expressway on the Arboretum."[9] This new limited-access route through the Arboretum was to cost about five million dollars from the then-present terminus of East Union Street and link up with a proposed traffic tube under Union Bay. Roy Morse, City Engineer, stated his belief that the tube would be completed in 1966. These new plans, under study by the State Highway Commission, were ostensibly designed to aid the Arboretum by placing the Empire Way Expressway further west inside the Arboretum than orginally planned. In order to take less of the Arboretum, the city proposed to condemn several homes on the east side of 26th Avenue East, mainly between Boyer and East Lynn Street. The new plan was approved generally by the University of Washington, the Arboretum Foundation and the Seattle Historical Society (whose Museum of History and Industry stood in a crucial location.)

On March 8, 1960, the voters of Seattle approved a $26,628,000 bond issue for arterial improvements. A special campaign leaflet put out by the City of Seattle called Proposition 1, the "key to six-year traffic improvement program" with a total cost of $59,724,000. The additional cost was to come from matching state and federal funds.

The same publication had urged people to vote yes: "Twelve major arterial projects are being held up pending the passage of Proposition 1. Not only will these projects siphon off much of the traffic congestion in the downtown district and on present home-to-work avenues, but they will tie the Seattle Freeway and the north-south expressways into a proper, efficient network. The capital

improvement bonds provide for the completion of the Empire Expressway from East Union Street to 92nd and Bothell Way. Major features include the Madison Street Interchange, the Arboretum Interchange (part of the Roanoke Street Connection) and the Submerged Tube Crossing at Union Bay."

Newspaper accounts of the campaign indicate no heavy opposition; any opponents seemed to be concerned primarily with the cost of funding the products. Proposition 1 was endorsed by 90 organizations, including various "good government" groups. The final vote was 70,767 to 38,522.

Later in 1960, the Arboretum Foundation advised Governor Albert Rosellini that the group's 2200 members in the state were deeply concerned at the possibility of additional destruction of the Arboretum by the location of the Expressway within its borders.[10] Several homeowners in the Montlake area bordering the west side of the Arboretum indicated that they were ready to sacrifice their homes to save the Arboretum: Mr. G.E. Moore, who lived at 2042 26th Avenue, said to a reporter, "We can always get houses somewhere. But where can you get those trees?"[11] Other homeowners expressed opinions similar to those of Mrs. W.A. Kelly of 2030 26th Avenue: "This was a desirable place to live, a wonderful place for children. It was town in front and country in the back."[12] Most only hoped that offcialdom would move quickly.

On Sunday, November 27, 1960, the Post-Intelligencer made public a map of the city engineering department's proposed location of the Empire Expressway--subject to acceptance by the U.S. Bureau of Roads. Most of the route lay west of the Arboretum. The freeway route through the Montlake community was to be built within

two years; the remainder two years later.[13]

Montlake residents sought to prevent the condemnation of homes for the expressway, but met with failure. The City Planning Commission issues a report in favor of taking homes rather than Arboretum area. On May 9, 1961, the City Council's Streets and Sewers Committee ordered the preparation of legislation which would authorize the State Highways Department to negotiate for acquisition of residential properties under "Route B" for the expressway. The state could process such matters faster than the city, according to highway engineers.[14]

With an enormous photograph on page one entitled "A Thing of Beauty is a Joy Forever?", The Argus, "as a public service" in its June 2, 1961, issue, presented the complete design of the Arboretum Interchange which would link the proposed expressway with the Evergreen Point Bridge soon to be built across Lake Washington (see Appendix). The caption beneath the photo pointed out that the interchange would take some fifty acres of Arboretum property and leave both the Museum of History and Industry and the houses across the street facing a massive concrete ditch. The caption then continued:

> To our knowledge, this plan has not been made public either by the state or city, and readers should wonder about such reticence in a structure that will dominate the whole area. We will award a free book of toll tickets for the new bridge to the reader who first analyzes this maze... This is the plan which was not to do any damage to the Arboretum, but both the Interchange and the Empire Expressway will change it forever.[15]

Following hearings in mid-1961, the Seattle City Council approved Route B, which condemned approximately 91 homes along the east side of 26th Avenue East. Opposition came from Montlake

residents, the Montlake Community Club, and the Central Federated Clubs. Montlake residents favored the original Route A, which would have traversed through the Arboretum and eliminated condemnation of private property. They maintained that Route A would save the city money, save homes, prevent deterioration of the Montlake community, and provide a safer highway.[16]

City officials agreed that Route B would cost about $500,000 more than the original Route A. They quickly pointed out, however, that, with adoption of Route B, the property valuation in the Montlake district would not depreciate--because of a buffer landscape between the west side of 26th Avenue and the expressway, providing a street and a hedge between the residents and the freeway. Roy W. Morse, City Engineer, maintained that, with Route A, "instead of a park in their backyard, these homes will abut directly upon a major highway."[17]

Gordon Marchworth, chairman of the University Arboretum Board and Dean of the College of Forestry at the University, pointed out that Route A, if adopted, would cut into the Japanese Tea Garden.[18]

City officials, including Mayor Gordon Clinton, remained unanimously opposed to the idea of taking more than a minimum amount of land from the Arboretum. By mid-1961, an estimated 65 acres of state land had already been turned over to the State Highway Commission for the construction of the Empire Expressway and the Roanoke interchange system between the second Lake Washington bridge and the expressway. The Washington State Highway Commission, the Washington State Highway Department, and the Washington State Toll Bridge Authority had already adopted Route B. Target date for completion was 1963. Condemnation and right-of-way proceedings

awaited a final decision by the city on the route of the expressway.

Four possible routes were suggested to the City Council during a hearing on June 16, 1961. Victor Steinbrueck, architect and civic activist, asked why the road couldn't be run through the edge of the exclusive Broadmoor Golf Club, to the east of the Arboretum. Roy Morse, City Engineer, replied that "engineering and design considerations" ruled out using the golf course. Councilman Paul Alexander said there would be a "young riot" if that were tried. "You have one now," Steinbrueck shot back.[19]

A number of individuals spoke in favor of the city-supported plan, including State Senator W.D. Shannon, president of the Arboretum Foundation; Jack Gregory, manager of the Washington Automobile Club; and Donald K. McClure of the Highways and Bridges Committee of the Chamber of Commerce. City Engineer Morse said that the facility would have four lanes at first and later be expanded to six lanes. He anticipated that 4,800 cars per hour would use the highway by 1980.

Dan Coughlin of the P-I commented that alternative routes were suggested "as embattled residents of the Montlake area fought a last-ditch effort against losing their properties to progress.[20]

Besides choosing Route B, the City Council officially named the expressway for R.H. Thomson, who served as Seattle's City Engineer from 1892, when the post was created, to 1911. Thomson had established a creditable reputation as a planner and to him is attributed the foresight for placing railroad tracks underground in Seattle. David Rudo, a dentist and Madrona resident who became active in the anti-expressway movement, commented that placing Thomson's name on this strip of concrete was "like naming the H-Bomb

after Pope John." Rudo laughs as he admits that he is probably responsibile for some of the movement's more colorful phrases, including "Jack the Ripper Freeway."

Meanwhile, a group of homeowners in the expressway corridor had taken to the courts. Voicing their case, for minimal fees, was Alfred J. Schweppe, former dean of the University of Washington Law School. The City Council, because of Schweppe's initial court action, was ordered to hold new hearings and readopt its findings. The Council readopted the disputed Route B on June 18, 1962, after conducting new limited-access hearings on April 30 and May 3.

On July 19, 1962, the Thurston County Superior Court ordered the Seattle City Council to show cause why the route it adopted outside the Arboretum area should not be overruled. Attorney Schweppe, representing nine property owners in the threatened corridor, contended the City Council should have established the expressway route 200 feet to the east to avoid condemning about $3,000,000 in private property. Schweppe charged that the city disregarded "long-standing thoroughfare plans of the city" established in 1956 that contemplated an expressway on city-owned Arboretum property. "The sudden and unexpected change of location....is an unjustifiable, arbitrary and capricious exercise of the authority vested in the Seattle City Council," he said.[21]

The Schweppe suits halted action on the expressway in the Montlake area. Hearings during 1963 focused on four possible routes for the expressway north of the ship canal. Citizens there began to realize the ramifications for their communities.

During one hearing, more than 400 persons crammed into the City Council chamber, which has a capacity of 180 seats. It was

the largest hearing since the move into the new City Hall.[22] Councilman M.B. Mitchell, Hearing Chairman, was forced to call for order when the crowd cried out in protest as Roy Morse, City Engineer, said the Engineering Department and other agencies favored an expressway corridor along 25th Avenue Northeast. Councilmen warned that it probably would take them at least two months to study transcripts of the hearing and reach a decision.[23]

On June 11, 1964, the State Supreme Court, in a 9 to 0 decision, reversed a ruling by the Thurston County Superior Court and ordered the Seattle City Council to back up its plans for the R.H. Thomson Expressway with additional facts or change the route. The court said that the council should have considered the property owners' counter-proposal carefully before rejecting it.

"I think the court made a right decision," Attorney Schweppe said when informed of the ruling. "It has been the city's plan for forty years to put the expressway through the Arboretum, and not through private property."[24] Schweppe went on to share a bit of history:

> This isn't a case of taking park property. This Arboretum land, about 285 acres, was given to the city in the early 1900's by Pope and Talbot. It is leased to the University of Washington to operate. And about a 200-foot strip, on the edge, has been reserved--and never developed as a park--for the expressway.[25]

Roy Morse's reaction differed: "I wonder why the court worded its decision the way it did. The City of Seattle has held numerous hearings on this matter.....Who can put a price on the loss to motorists, including traffic congestion in the Montlake District?"[26] Several days later, Morse informed Mayor Dorm Braman and the City Council that it would take about two months to assemble data to

meet requirements of the court ruling.[27]

A. L. Newbould, corporation counsel for the city, warned that the Council, in holding certain types of public hearings, must adopt more formal procedures. He suggested that the Council might want to employ a trial examiner familiar with processes in administrative-type hearings for any new hearing on the expressway route.[28]

In May of 1965, the City of Seattle entered into an agreement with the Puget Sound Regional Transportation Study to provide projected traffic volume data for proper geometric design of the Thomson facility and to obtain financial assistance from the State Highway Commission.[29] The preliminary study findings indicated an average daily traffic volume of about 75,000 vehicles in 1985, and the PSRTS stated: "... the route should be considered as a freeway, with complete access control and the highest possible standards of design from its southern terminus with Interstate 5 to the Bothell area."[30]

The court-mandated hearings began on May 27, 1965, with Michael K. Copass, attorney, presiding as hearing examiner. All members of the City Council were present, except Councilman Wing Luke, missing on a fatal airplane flight over the Cascades. Other Councilmen were: Clarence Massart, President; Charles M. Carroll; Ted C. Best; Floyd C. Miller; Mrs. Harlan H. Edwards; Paul J. Alexander; M.B. (Mike) Mitchell; and Ray L. Eckman, who had been appointed by the Council to fill the spot vacated by Dorm Braman when he became mayor. All except Eckman and Best were longtime members of the Council.

The carefully documented proceedings fill a thick notebook

now on file in the Municipal Building Library.[31] The first day of the hearings was devoted almost entirely to engineering summaries of three routes given intensive study by the city. Routes A and B have already been described. Route S would have taken nine holes of the Broadmoor golf course and lie largely within the Arboretum.

University of Washington representatives headed by Dr. Charles E. Odegaard, president, appeared before the City Council to support the route favored by the City Engineering Department. Also advocating Route B were the Broadmoor Maintenance Association and the Arboretum Foundation. Victor Steinbrueck declared that homeowners along 26th Avenue East who were fighting the expressway would be better off to move than live adjacent to a noisy expressway. Lloyd E. Thorpe, spokesman for the Society of American Foresters, praised the Arboretum as a forest study resource. John D. Spaeth, City Planning Director, declared that the city-favored Route B was the best route because it most nearly met "good planning requirements."

Stuart A. Dawson, of a Massachusetts landscape firm preparing a new master plan for the Arboretum, said Route B should be favored as "the most desirable minimum" of highway allowed into the Arboretum. Professor Walter A. Fairservis, Jr., director of the University's Burke Memorial Museum, told of the growing role of the Arboretum in the museum's programs for schools and deplored having "any highway at all" through the Arboretum. He said the taking of more than forty acres for the Evergreen Point Floating Bridge interchange had already done "irreparable harm" to the study of marine life in adjacent water.[32]

Among the many other University of Washington speakers favoring Route B were Frederick K. Mann, campus architect; Ernest J. Riley,

real estate officer; Roland Hoefer, appraiser; Brian Mulligan, Arboretum Director; Professor Arthur L. Grey, Jr., Urban Planner; Professor Edward L. Ullmann, Associate Dean, Graduate School; Professor Stanley P. Gessel, forestry; and Professor Gordon Orians, zoology. Even Mrs. Henry Schmitz, wife of the retired president of the University, appeared as a member of the Arboretum Foundation board.

A recess until June 18 was agreed to by the City Council after Schweppe asked for time to study about fifty exhibits. These included maps, sketches, photographs, statistics, letters and statements offered during the two-day hearing by proponents of the controversial route.

In the resumption of the hearings, Schweppe countered with a proposal for an elevated expressway through the Arboretum--a proposal which made headlines. This new plan was presented by William S. Tsao, consulting engineer. "Have highways and the fast movement of traffic become more important in our country than people?" Schweppe asked. "The route we propose would preserve nearly all the homes. A freeway structure can be made attractive, if properly done."

James B. Wilson, Assistant State Attorney General representing the University, urged rejection of the Tsao design and adoption of Route B. Joseph Witt, assistant Arboretum director, testified that plantings of value to the Arboretum would not grow under a viaduct. Two residents of the expressway corridor, Route B, urged that their homes be taken.

On October 25, 1965, the City Council unanimously approved Route B. At the request of Councilman Ted C. Best, the findings

were amplified with a comment that the Arboretum is "a vital and irreplaceable teaching-and-research adjunct of the University of Washington" and is a valuable "open-space amenity."[33]

News coverage of the RHT during 1966 centered on plans for the tunnel under Union Bay, but Schweppe and the homeowners were back in court. On April 27, 1966, Judge Thomas G. Jordan from Asotin County ruled in Superior Court that the City Council's actions declaring the route of the expressway to be a public convenience and necessity should have been taken under a new law passed by the State Legislature at its 1965 extraordinary session, instead of under an old law. The law had been changed subsequent to the council's hearing, but before the council had signed its formal findings. The RHT was stalled again.

In the P-I of August 24, 1966, Mike Conant wrote about the R. H. Thomson Expressway: "Today, it is mostly a memory, and it requires a tidy bit of research to determine whether tales of the superhighway are fact or legend."[34] He pointed out that the opening of the highway was already six and one half years late, and, because of the court battle, the first major portion could not be ready until 1969--with final stages at least fifteen years away.

On June 4, 1967, Herb Robinson, associate editor, The Seattle Times, devoted two columns to the concerns of Professor W. Thomas Edmondson, consultant for the Municipality of Metropolitan Seattle. He detailed the possibilities for damage to Lake Washington from the dumping of peat scheduled for removal in the building of the tunnel under Union Bay.

Al Schweppe and the homeowners achieved another delay for the Thomson on June 16, 1967, when the State Supreme Court, in an 8 to 0 decision, ordered a full trial on whether or not the City of Seattle should be allowed to condemn certain property for the R. H. Thomson Expressway. "If the city complied with the law effective at the time any particular act was done, the validity of the city's proceedings was not affected," the court said.[35] The high court ruled that the claims of error should have a full trial in lower court.

Myron (Mike) R. Mitchell, City Traffic Engineer, in a talk before the University Chamber of Commerce on July 11, 1967, called the expressway "an absolute necessity" and predicted that construction would start sooner than expected.[36] The freeway had been 14 years in the planning and was now scheduled for construction in the 1969-71 period.

Strong feelings against the R. H. Thomson in any form were beginning to emerge in Seattle, however. A number of citizens voiced strong objections to the large interchange planned for the RHT with Interstate-90 as it entered the city from the east. Among them were Virginia Gunby and Bennett Feigenbaum.

On August 24, 1967, Mayor Dorm Braman made headlines by questioning the need both for the large interchange and for the third Lake Washington bridge (south of Montlake in the Mount Baker district.) "If Seattle voters next February approve the Forward Thrust program for financing rapid transit, it may be possible to reduce the proposed expressway from an eight-lane facility to a less extensive, less expensive parkway with landscaping and recreational areas along its route," Braman said.[37] Residents of Mount Baker and the Central Area were protesting the impact upon their

communities. Braman pointed out that the issue of the scale of the facility was relevant to the city's racial problems, because many of the homes which would be demolished were those of black families.[38]

Less than two weeks later, Governor Daniel Evans concurred with Mayor Braman and asked that plans for the interchange be re-examined and reduced in size.[39] Charles G. Prahl, State Highway Director, surprised the anti-Thomson people by agreeing with Braman (on shelving of the interchange) at a meeting of the Seattle section of the National Council of Negro Women at Mount Zion Baptist Church in September, 1967.[40] "Thomson was designed originally as a parkway," Braman declared, "but it got out of hand and before we knew it had grown into another freeway. We don't need another freeway."[41]

Also supporting abondonment of the interchange was State Representative David Sprague: "I hope this is the beginning of a whole new way of thinking on highway construction by the state. Mr. Prahl's announcement shows, at least, that plans can be changed when the local community expresses itself."[42]

Highway Commission Chairman George Zahn, contacted by the Post-Intelligencer at his home in Methow, Okanogan County, said that the commission was "interested in not taking any more land for construction than necessary." He still believed, however, that the future R.H. Thomson road must "carry its share" of north-south traffic on the Interstate.[43]

The plan to change the RHT from a freeway-type highway to a boulevard expressway and scrap its interchange with I-90 and the third Lake Washington floating bridge suddenly cast doubt upon the use of federal funds, which would have paid for fifty per cent of

the cost of the road. Mayor Braman had written a letter to E. I. Roberts, District Highway Engineer, asking substitution of the interchange connection with a simple overpass.

Roe Rodgers, Division Engineer of the Bureau of Public Roads, responded:

> This whole complex has been under study for years as a complete highway network. Federal funds have been approved on the basis that the Thomson Expressway and the Alaskan Way Viaduct would carry a share of the north-south traffic load. These were a key consideration and factor in the design and capacity of Highway 5 through Seattle. It would have to be shown that reduction of such a facility planned years ago by the city and the State Highway Department would not cause over-loading of other major highways or upset the balanced planning of present or future construction.[44]

Mayor Braman appeared unruffled by the prospective loss of federal highway funds: "I am convinced that when all of the reasons for this reconsideration are evaluated it still will be possible to get substantial federal and state participation for a park-type facility to serve this need.[45]

Braman's stand attracted strong support. In a letter to Lowell K. Bridwell, administrator of the Federal Highway Administration, Senator Warren Magnuson said that steps should be taken to assure that policies of the Bureau of Public Roads were not contradictory to those of the Department of Public Housing and Urban Development and the White House, which "reflect the requirements of modern-day urban environment."[46] The senator invited Bridwell to visit Seattle and see for himself where such a contradiction had arisen.

Supportive editorials were offered by KIRO, the Post-Intelligencer, and Herb Robinson of the Times. Robinson pointed out that the city's application for a federal "model neighborhood" planning grant placed

great emphasis on making the expressway an aesthetic and social asset in a proposed plan for upgrading deteriorating sections of the central area.[47]

By November 3, 1967, the Montlake homeowners' trial was under way in Superior Court. On November 15, Judge F.A. Walterskirchen upheld the action of the City Council in establishing a route for the RHT in 1965. The property owners had contended that defective notice had been given of the May 27, 1965, Council hearings; that the Council had used an unconstitutional "substitution" theory of appraising lands; that selection of the route was arbitrary and capricious; and that the city had failed to publish its findings within the time required by law. In ruling in favor of the city, however, Judge Walterskirchen noted that the expressway would not be built until the City Council appropriated funds for its construction--and that the new Council might not go along with the route.[48]

The close of the year 1967 brought several interesting turns of events: The Central Area Civil Rights Committee told the State Highway Department that the "mood" of the community was "dangerous" regarding plans for a third Lake Washington bridge and the Thomson Expressway;[49] several "new breed" members took their places on the Seattle City Council; and Mayor Braman announced that the San Francisco-based urban design firm of Okamoto-Liskamm had been retained for a "crash program" to revise plans for the Thomson segment between the Arboretum and the I-90 right-of-way.

The civil rights committee, in a letter, petitioned the Highway Commission and the Highway Department for a meeting "to renegotiate" plans for the bridge and the expressway. "We are now convinced that the Highway Department has an obligation to reconsider and

renegotiate these two projects with the Seattle neighborhood which is being devastated for the convenience of those outside the city," the committee said.[50]

The election in November, 1967, of Phyllis Lamphere, Tim Hill, and Sam Smith to the City Council was symptomatic of a changing mood at City Hall. Promoted by a reform-minded group called CHECC (Choose an Effective City Council), these three received much support during their campaigns from anti-freeway enthusiasts. Lamphere was a longtime civic activist with an interest in government reform; Smith was the first black to serve on the City Council; he and Hill were both former state legislators, with much political savvy. Mike Conant was to write a year later in the P-I: "Together they symbolize a surge of energy that exploded last year in Seattle... the trio was sworn into office after voters turned angrily against an often ludicrous approach by the council in dealing with the delicate affairs of the city."[51]

In disclosing the short-term contract with Okamoto-Liskamm, Mayor Braman also revealed that negotiations were under way with the firm on a long-term contract for redesign of the entire alignment generally from the south end of Lake Washington to Lake City Way Northeast.[52] "Once the project is done to the point where it is meaningful we will take it to the people and see if we can't convince them this is something that will enhance rather than destroy their neighborhood." The Mayor and others seemed little aware that citizens were no longer content to be consulted <u>after</u> the fact.

The new design concept called for a maximum of six lanes and a speed limit of 35 miles per hour through the Central Area segment.[53]

Three urban-design concepts for this pared-down parkway were prepared by Okamoto-Liskamm. They included provisions for the proposed rapid transit system, with accompanying new housing, retail, office, recreation, and shcool facilities along the Central Area segment of the route.[54]

The Okamoto-Liskamm firm sensed two initial tasks. The first was to begin to educate the personnel in the City Engineer's office in considering environmental factors. The second was to begin to build a strong relationship with the residents of the Central Area. This required "careful image-making." In regards to the engineers, it required relying on a strict interpretation of the contract, while in regards to the community, it required an extremely loose interpretation. In fact, community respondants charged that the Okamoto-Liskamm people went so far as to say that they felt able to recommend a "no road" proposal, while their contract specifically tied them into studying a road within the given corridor.[55] Thomson funds could not be used to not build the Thomson.

On January 19, 1968, Corporation Counsel A. L. Newbould advised the City Council that the property owners opposing the route for the RHT were taking their case to the State Supreme Court for the third time, appealing the ruling by Judge Walterskirchen.

February 13, 1968, brought the first Forward Thrust transit election. The inspiration of civic activist and lawyer James Ellis, Forward Thrust had on its committee 200 city, metropolitan, county, and business leaders, appointed in 1966 by the Mayor of Seattle and the Chairman of the King County Board of Commissioners. Program director was 30-year-old Richard S. Page. When the issues were refined for the ballot, Proposition 1, "Transportation Bonds,"

submitted $385 million in general obligation bonds for the voters' approval. This would have allowed expansion and modernization of the city and county bus systems, brought an abbreviated rail network by 1975, and made possible a full 47-mile rail transit system by 1985. Proposition 2 would have allowed the Municipality of Metropolitan Seattle ("Metro") to assume management of the transportation system.

Many citizens who questioned the ever-expanding freeway system gave their support to the effort for Forward Thrust. In spite of winning a 50.8 percent majority vote, the transit bonds failed for lack of the 60 percent approval required by the state constitution.

Official announcement of the conversion of the R.H. Thomson to a parkway was made by Mayor Braman on March 6, 1968. He also stated that the State Highway Department wanted to eliminate the large interchange with I-90, that provisions still could be made for rapid transit along I-90, that the parkway concept might be extended further north and south along the 15-mile route of the RHT.

Plans for development of the RHT were unveiled at a meeting of the Physical Planning and Environmental Task Force of the Model Cities program by Rai Okamoto, principal in Okamoto-Liskamm. Braman explained, "We feel the creation of R.H. Thomson into a parkway or greenway is the key to the Model Cities program."[56] Braman added that even with the "temporary setback" of the defeat of rapid transit in the Forward Thrust election, the city would move along with its previous plans for the RHT.

Okamoto presented to the Model Cities meeting three urban-

design concepts for development of the RHT as a pared-down six-lane parkway. Key features of the three preliminary concepts included provision for the proposed rapid-transit system, with accompanying new housing, retail office, recreation, commercial and school facilities at points along the route. All of the designs showed a depressed roadway, which would allow the new structures to be built on platforms--or air rights--over the parkway.

Okamoto said that residents of the Model Cities area would be "called on to express objectives and values you think are important" as a final plan was developed. The final plan would be integrated with both the Model Cities project-development plan and the Yesler-Atlantic urban-renewal plan. Okamoto stressed that Seattle "in a certain sense is pioneering" in its efforts to transform the Thomson from an expressway to a parkway. He added that the effort was supported by a change in attitude among such federal agencies as the Department of Transportation.[57]

The Seattle Times, in an editorial on March 8, applauded the new attempts at citizen participation:

> There may be national significance and a historic precedent in the extent to which Braman is involving the central area in planning for the Thomson Parkway. But, it is a far greater significance locally in having residents of the area through which the parkway will pass know they have had a voice in the decisions. Thus, it becomes 'their' parkway, rather than one forced upon them.[58]

The citizens involved were not so enthusiastic about the planning, however. Maynard Arsove points out today that the basic "ground rule" was always present: they were allowed to discuss where the Thomson might be built, but not if it should be built. At a meeting at Garfield High School on March 8, 1968, some

hostility was expressed toward Ed Devine, Mayor Braman's assistant, as he presented the proposals. One woman asserted, "This is just another one of the white man's lies."[59]

The P-I glowingly praised the Mayor's "major victory" in an editorial on March 12.[60] Herb Robinson of the Times wrote of the "apparent open-mindedness of state highway officials" on the same day.[61]

Meanwhile, community spokespersons voiced their concerns to the City Council. At an informal meeting, Ruth Brandwein, representing the Central Seattle Community Council, said that immediate attention should be given to residents who would be relocated by parkway construction. William Frantilla spoke for the Ravenna Community Club, which had become mobilized because of concern in the neighborhood about the impact of highway building on their northend community. State Representative David Sprague recommended: "We should all get behind rapid transit and resubmit it to voters. It is the only apparent answer to our traffic problem."[62]

On March 17, 1968, The Seattle Times indicated that there was less than complete accord between Mayor Braman and State Highway Director Prahl over the RHT project, but that it appeared both were willing to "try." Prahl said that he was "willing to work with the city on a parkway-type facility as long as it can handle the traffic it has to handle and does not create an unsafe facility." He went on to warn: "The city had better join hands with us soon or there may be some mistakes made that it will have to pay for itself."[63]

A surprise announcement was made on April 2, 1968, that the eight Montlake residents then represented by Alfred Schweppe were

dropping their suit blocking progress on the RHT. "The mayor's idea of combating a north-south freeway was sound," Schweppe said. "If his concept is carried out, it would require a substantial change. We're willing to bide our time and see what happens."[64]

Again, not all citizens were so optimistic about the city's plans, and the growing pessimism gave birth to a new organization, "Citizens Against the R. H. Thomson," to be known as CARHT. This was the first major attempt to form a coalition of community councils on an issue basis, according to Maynard Arsove, mathematics professor at the University of Washington and longtime resident of Montlake.

Arsove was president of the Montlake Community Club in 1967 when a survey had been made of community residents under the auspices of the University's Department of Community Development. The survey prompted community leaders to scrutinize the land use changes due to the RHT.

Margaret Tunks, veteran freeway fighter from Lake City, recalls talking with Arsove about this time and sharing her conviction that if a road is not good for one community, it is not good for another community. "Let's not shove it off on someone else!"[65] This conviction had motivated her ever since the day that a neighbor had taken her along to a meeting at their local school at which freeway plans for the area were to be discussed: she had found a new avocation.

The actual formation of CARHT was preceded by a series of meetings of community groups at the Jackson Street offices of the Central Seattle Community Council during the spring of 1968. Highway issues were discussed, primarily the Thomson and I-90. A number of community leaders were involved, from Mt. Baker through

Lake City.

The group arranged a meeting at the home of Ruth Brandwein, Executive Secretary of the Council--a meeting to set policy, to make decisions on how to deal with the Thomson situation. This was a larger meeting for representatives of groups all along the Thomson corridor.

"It took us ten minutes to decide we didn't want it," says Arsove. The group could not accept the mayor's solution of a parkway; they did not want the R. H. Thomson in any form. Thirteen community organizations eventually became part of CARHT, including Friends of the Arboretum. Not all were located in the path of the RHT (Magnolia Community Club, for instance.)

Up to this point, everyone was assuming that there had to be something and that it had to go somewhere. At last the protectors of homes and the protectors of trees were united in a common effort. Already, however, two blocks of homes and a number of trees had been leveled in the northeast corner of Montlake--at the foot of Lynn Street along 26th Avenue, in the area now known as "The Pit." And the telltale signs of seediness were permeating the Thomson corridor north through the Ravenna area.

Arsove tells of seeking advice in the organizing days of CARHT. It was suggested that they should not antagonize the City Council, who were potential allies; that the organization should be for something--not against. Arsove says that, in deciding to be Citizens Against the R. H. Thomson, they made a deliberate decision not to follow this advice--and that the decision was a good one (the Saul Alinsky approach).[66]

Don Gibbs, recalling those organizing days in a letter, notes the pivotal aspect of what CARHT was doing:

> Arsove pointed out that in the past when neighborhoods fought freeways, it was neighborhood versus neighborhood arguing over the route. The highway was not questioned, only the route. In the fighting, one neighborhood would lose out to another, and the loser would inevitably be exhausted and suffer psychological devastation to the point where it couldn't regroup for an attack on the highway department. CARHT's strategy was pivotal in that it took an absolute position against the road. No argument inside CARHT was ever allowed to discuss the superiority of one route over another. Thus all the neighborhoods could unite against a common enemy.[67]

Arsove, as president of CARHT, urged members of the Citizens' Planning Council to fight plans for the RHT. He said the proposed parkway would ruin twelve acres of the Arboretum, would cut through the Central Area and oeprate for the benefit of the suburbs, not the city. "Seattle will become a smog-covered traffic jam," he charged. "The destructive cycle of freeways already has turned 70 percent of downtown Los Angeles into space devoted to automobiles. We need a comprehensive plan for rapid transit before considering another freeway."[68]

CARHT affiliated with a national organization of urban freeway opponents, "Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis." Elmer Allen was sent by CARHT to a national meeting of freeway opponents on June 23, 1968, the only representative from the west coast.

Arsove recalls a ten-part series in the Christian Science Monitor which described in detail efforts against freeways in major cities across the nation. This series, which appeared only ten years after the establishment of the highway trust fund, "provided us with moral support," says Arsove, "the feeling that we weren't alone." Here was a comprehensive case against urban freeways, a

clear indication that something was wrong. The Federal Highway Act was originally designed to link cities, he points out. This was an issue whose time had come. "CARHT would not have been possible in 1960."[69]

"Somebody has to fight the freeways," Arsove said in an interview on July 31, 1968. "There are powerful lobbies representing the highway construction industry, the automobile, truck, tire, cement and construction equipment companies and some labor unions who push for freeways. There is no one to point out the disadvantages to our way of living." He presented four points in a resolution adopted by CARHT:

1. We oppose use of the R. H. Thomson route as a major traffic corridor.
2. We are against the proposed third and fourth Lake Washington Bridges.
3. We support a comprehensive mass transit system.
4. We oppose any further urban highway construction in the Seattle area until a comprehensive mass transit system has been authorized by the voters.

The first five community groups to support the CARHT four-point program were the Ravenna, University Park and Montlake Community Clubs, the Harrison Improvement Council and the Mount Baker Improvement Club. "We think we have a reasoned position," Arsove told the Times. "We are a side that ought to be heard from."[71]

In October David Rudo, at a meeting of the Physical Planning and Environment Task Force of Model Cities, charged the project survey team with deliberately excluding survey questions about the R. H. Thomson Expressway. Chairman Tom Kennedy said he would express Rudo's feelings at a meeting of the Model Cities steering

committee. Mark Kawasaki, project director for Okamoto-Liskamm, said, "Our primary responsibility is to interpret and realize the needs of the community. We have made it clear that the road must serve the community through which it passes or there is no justification for it."[72]

In the same month, CARHT sent a letter to city and state officials urging an immediate halt in the planning and construction of freeways in Seattle and asking that the highest priority be given to plans for a comprehensive mass rapid transit in the area. The letter was addressed to Governor Dan Evans, Major J. D. Braman, the Washington State Highway Commission and the Seattle City Council. The letter cited San Francisco and Cleveland as examples of major cities blocking highway construction and favoring rail rapid transit successfully. And, it added, Seattle should follow the examples. "The destruction of homes compounds the housing shortage and often works severe hardship on those displaced, especially in the case of minority races. Moreover, as Los Angeles has discovered, freeway proliferation is likely to be accompanied by a decrease in the volume of downtown business."[73]

Arsove emphasizes the important role played in CARHT by Donald Gibbs, professor of Chinese at the University of Washington, who with his family, resided in the threatened corridor on 26th Avenue in Montlake. Gibbs did "a lot of very valuable things," according to Arsove, including surveying residents of the corridor. He discovered that people had been going door to door, suggesting that they purchasing houses. Gibbs called the Highway Department, saying that he understood that they were purchasing houses in hardship cases. He asked what evidence of hardship was necessary. The

answer: "Just tell us that you want to sell!"[74]

According to Arsove, Gibbs is a very methodical person and he kept a file on houses in the corridor with notes on the status of each house, noting the extent to which people were being intimidated. He obtained copies of "no maintenance" leases, felt there was evidence of block busting. He told stories of the people affected, of one woman about in tears as she learned that she would not have had to sell. When problems with mortgage money were cited, Gibbs found banks willing to lend.

In a meeting of the City Council Streets and Sewers Committee in October, Councilman Sam Smith cast the lone dissenting vote against a proposed R. H. Thomson Way study contract with Okamoto-Liskamm. "People in the Central Area just do not want any part of the proposed Thomson Way and I'm against it," said Smith.[75] The $700,000 study would have looked into the potential impact of the route on adjacent neighborhoods, the possibility of having rapid-transit facilities within the right-of-way and construction of buildings over the landscaped route.

Even if "prettied up," the R. H. Thomson would eventually turn into just a freeway, Maynard Arsove told the Leschi Improvement Council on November 6. He noted that the city of London lives without a single freeway in the city and that San Francisco citizens turned back one-quarter of a million dollars to stop the construction of Embarcadero Freeway. "We may reach the distinction of being the freeway capital of the country with one every mile running the length of the city."[76]

Don Gibbs recalls that this "one-mile grid" played an important role in shaping the ideology of CARHT:

> It all started with Maynard discovering that the overall transportation plan for the city called for a one-mile grid of freeways, i.e. north and south, east and west, for the hour-glass figure of our city. This grid was never revealed to the public. Once we learned this, we made it our business to be sure that as large a public as possible came to share this revelation. We think that the engineers' own excesses, plus our ability to discover them, together with our energy in publicizing them, played a highly significant role in the mobilizing of public opinion.[77]

Gibbs also remembers the "pony show" that he, Arsove, David Rudo, Ben Feigenbaum, and sometimes Bill Frantilla--in some combination--would stage for any organization that would hear them:

> Ben talked a few minutes about the trust fund and how it violated democratic procedures; Maynard spoke of LA and our one-mile grid; I was folksy and talked about what the highway department was doing to my neighborhood (I was the outraged homeowner everyone identified with), etc. In other words, we protested to council members, we raised hell at hearings, we had our community clubs and we worked at the mucilage of coalition, but through it all, we steadily and patiently and at great personal cost, worked at educating our fellow citizens. Maynard used to say that it took more intelligence than he had ever realized for people to know when they were threatened. But we had faith that people would act once they could be helped to see the threat.[78]

On December 4, 1968, the City Council reluctantly restated its intent to proceed with the controversial RHT. Charles Carroll, Phyllis Lamphere and Tim Hill voted against a resolution declaring the city's intent to "proceed with the planning designing and construction" of the route--but not until 1970. They were outvoted by Floyd C. Miller, M. B. Mithcell, Ted Best and Paul J. Alexander. Sam Smith and Mrs. Harlan Edwards were absent, attending a convention. A request from the State Urban Arterial Board wanting to know the status of the Thomson project prompted the discussion and vote.[79]

Mrs. Lamphere commented that future opposition from the Central

Area might convince the city to scrap the project. Assistant City Engineer Phil Buswell said that court suits over the Thomson and a study of the roadway in relation to neighborhood environment and rapid transit would delay completion of the project until after 1977.[80]

Tim Hill then called for a speed-up of the urban-design study of the RHT, expressing concern that a "cloud" was hanging over owners of property in the proposed route.[81] City officials said that hearings would be called as soon as the design study had been completed, and that hearings could take another four months. The parkway was now being viewed, in its scaled-down version, as carrying intracity traffic at speeds of 35 to 40 miles and hour.

On December 9, 1968, Model Cities Program officials "urgently" requested the City Council to reconsider its decision to construct the RHT. "The motion (adopted by the Council) took cognizance of none of the recent developments engaged in by the Model Neighborhood residents and the design-consultant group employed by the city," Walter R. Hundley, Model Cities Program Director, wrote to the council.

He added:

> The comprehensive plan of the Model Cities Program calls for integrated studies of land use, street grid patterns and usages, transportation corridors, public transportation, rapid transit, economic studies and population characteristics....They (the studies) will form the basis for making sound decisions concerning the R. H. Thomson Way--whether it should be constructed, where, and with what design.[82]

Also, on December 9, in response to the concern voiced by Model Cities, Phyllis Lamphere offered a new resolution which

superceded the previous week's resolution and passed 4 to 3. In the new resolution the Council declared its intent to "proceed with the planning, design and development of the R. H. Thomson facility" after public hearings have been conducted and the Council has reviewed an urban-design study now in progress.[83]

On December 11, Herb Robinson of the Seattle Times called the RHT "the most bitterly disputed highway controversy in Seattle's modern history." He pointed out Mayor Braman's extraordinary step in placing the Thomson project under administration of the mayor's office. "In effect, it was 'taken away' from the engineers.[84]

The following day, Robinson announced in his column that the Federal Housing Administration had revised its mortgage-insurance rules on Seattle-area homes lying in the path of proposed highway rights-of-way and other capital construction projects. "Under the revised regulation, such properties will not be considered ineligible for F. H. A. mortgages unless the public agencies have a firm program and funds in hand to complete the purchase within a 12-month period. Robinson pointed out that residential owners all along a four-block-wide swath between Rainier Valley and Lake City had experienced hardships in selling their homes and anxieties over whether their properties indeed ultimately would become a part of the right-of-way.[85]

Plans for construction of Highway 522, a continuation of the RHT, were a threat to residents of the Lake City area. In December of 1968, Jean Godden (League of Women Voters activist, now assistant editor of the P-I editorial page), Bill Frantilla of Ravenna, Maynard Arsove and Margaret Tunks met and discussed the problem. Tunks notes today that Frantilla and Arsove were reluctant to call

a public meeting in mid-December, just before the holidays. An eventful meeting was sponsored by Citizens Against Freeways, which was organized primarily to fight the freeway in the north end of the city. Margaret Tunks was the primary push behind this organization.

According to an account of this December 11, 1968, CAF meeting by Bob Lane in the Times, "an estimated 900 persons met in the Jane Addams Junior High School to hear a recitation of the evils of poorly planned freeways and to learn that freeways can be beaten through the use of political strength by the public." Samuel E. Wood of Sacramento, a leader in the California campaign against freeways, spoke to the group, as did Bill Frantilla, Attorney Bob Beezer, and Ben Feigenbaum. Many strategies were discussed, including use of the initiative to begin an attack against legislation reserving gasoline-tax funds for highways. "Anti-Freeway 'War' Breaks Out in North Seattle," rang out the headline.[86]

By then, people were "united, up and down the corridor," says Margaret Tunks.[87]

In a January, 1969, meeting of a Model Cities task force, staff members of Okamoto-Liskamm, the urban design firm, fielded questions from the community. They used colorful diagrams to present planning choices. One resident asked if rapid transit would be considered seriously in the study. William Liskamm, Vice-President, noted that his firm had been involved from the start in transit planning in Seattle. Another challenged Liskamm regarding the number of black people on his staff. He replied that the firm was seeking people in a number of professional positions and would be open to all suggestions. Someone criticized the abstract nature of the diagrams

and the presentation. "Do we really have a choice?" the resident asked. Liskamm replied that the community would have "choices all the way along." Afterwards, he commented, "I really learned something tonight."[88]

The January 26, 1969, issue of the Post-Intelligencer featured an in-depth look at the Okomoto-Liskamm firm by reporter Sue Hutchinson. Mark Kawasaki, acting project director, commented, "In many instances, the planners and designers have been brought in at the last possible moment to give the road acceptability. We're trying to turn it around." Meanwhile many members of the community were indeed thinking that the firm had been brought in at the last moment to lend acceptability to what they felt was an unacceptable project.

An article by Maynard Arsove, "Puget Sound Battles the Concrete Dragons," appeared in the February, 1969, issue of Puget Soundings. CARHT distributed reprints of this article. He is introduced to readers as the chairman of CARHT ("Citizens Against the R. H. Thomson" --OR--"Citizens Alert for Rapid versus Highway Transit"). Arsove's piece is vividly hard-hitting as he describes the RHT: "Unofficially, but appropriately, it has been renamed the 'Jack the Ripper Freeway' for its mutilation of the University of Washington Arboretum and a whole string of established neighborhoods along its path. It is hard to imagine how any attempts at beautification, short of undergrounding for its entire length, can mitigate the real damage of the R. H. Thomson. Will the hungry dragon wear a string of pearls?"

Arsove went on to suggest four key steps: (1) A moratorium on planning and construction of Seattle area freeways so that "bolder, more imaginative re-thinking of the transportation problem can take

place;" (2) "The highway-oriented Puget Sound Regional Transportation Study, with its implied one-mile grid, should be recognized as archaic and abandoned as a basis for region-wide transportation planning;" (3) "Seattle area voters must be offered the honest choice of a modern mass rapid transit program not tied in with the construction of new highways. Needs of surburban areas for park-and-ride, or other commuter facilities, must also be considered;" (4) "A State Transportation Department must be formed to deal effectively with the overall transportation problems." He added that all transportation revenues should be put "into one coffer, to be drawn on for general transportation needs."

Arsove feels that we can reflect in 1979 on the steps taken toward achievement of these four suggestions--with considerable success, except for rapid transit.

David Suffia reported in the March 4, 1969, issue of the Seattle Times that the City Council had "dealt a heavy blow to the proposed R. H. Thomson Way and moved to reassure citizens in its proposed path." The Council had unanimously passed a resolution offered by Councilman Tim Hill requesting a moratorium on purchase of properties within the R. H. Thomson corridor while the mayor's office prepared a resolution with these ingredients: a definition of the procedures for the acquisition of properties within the corridor; the criteria for determining "hardship cases" within the corridor that were being purchased by the state and the city; an outline of the means by which the acquired properties would be maintained by the city after purchase. "We want to remain uncommitted" toward the highway, Hill said. The 18-month

study by the Okamoto-Liskamm firm still had about 15 months to go.

Largely because of the efforts of Don Gibbs, a dozen community organizations called for a city investigation into buying up of land in the path of the proposed RHT and asked for a public hearing on the investigation results. The letter charged the Highway Department had "begun a vigorous campaign to purchase houses along this corridor, apparently with the cooperation of the City Engineering Department and with the use of city funds." It further charged the Highway Department with mismanagement of the properties already purchased, resulting in deterioration of property and neighborhoods. The letter was signed by the presidents of CARHT, Montlake Community Club, Ravenna Community Association, Capitol Hill Community Council, University Park Community Club, Mount Baker Ridge Action Group, Mount Baker Community Club, Leschi Community Council, Madrona Community Council, Harrison Community Council and the Central Seattle Community Council.[89]

An editorial in the March 6, 1969, issue of the Post-Intelligencer pointed out that the city was capable of blocking purchases because it reimbursed the state for them. "Given the many unresolved questions surrounding the proposed expressway, it would be a mistake to permit the tentative corridor to degenerate into a blighted ghost strip so far in advance of the project."

Branding the charges that the state was in a property-buying campaign "a complete falsehood," Charles G. Prahl, state highway director, ordered on March 6 an indifinite halt to all property acquisition in the RHT corridor by the state. He said that no more property would be bought by the state until city officials "who asked for the program in the first place, ask for it to be

renewed and do so publicly."[90] Gene Darby, chief right-of-way agent for Highway District Number 7, pointed out, "The state undertook this property acquisition most reluctantly because of the controversial aspects of this city highway which was planned nearly a decade ago and has had nothing but trouble since."

Large illustrated stories appeared in the March 8, 1969, issues of both Seattle daily newspapers. "State Accused of Creating Pocket Slums" read the P-I. "Thomson Route Houses Neglected, Says Group" headlined the Times. Both stories were triggered by Don Gibbs.

How did he do it? Gibbs had been a reporter at one time and knew a meanigful story when he saw it. He remembers his approach:

> It was no accident that the two big stories, one in the P-I and one in the Times, came out the same week. Originally I planted the story with Dave Suffia of the Times, but over a week went by and the story never appeared. I assumed Bob Lane or Herb Robinson had got to him and squelched it, so I went to Sue Hutchison, whom I admired tremendously, by the way, and whose death I feel keenly even today, and she knocked it out very quickly. Then the Times came out with it. Later, Dave Suffia told me the delay was because the Times was going to make it a really huge story and was still working on research and photography. They were forced to come out with it before they were ready when the P-I version appeared.

Susan Hutchison wrote in the Post-Intelligencer, "A gaping sandy hole lies at the northwest entrance to the Arboretum. Nearby are vacant lots where stairs lead only to weeds. Spotted among the lots are shabby houses with peeling paint, unkempt yards in obvious need of repair.[91] The P-I article covered a full page and featured large photographs of the neglected area. Gibbs and other residents were interviewed at length.

Dave Suffia of the Times wrote, "In the modest, well-kept area of Montlake near the arboretum on 26th and 27th Avenues East and

on East Lynn Street, the state owned houses are easy to pick out. Almost all have paint peeling down to bare wood. Several have windows broken out and replaced with plastic coverings. Most have garbage littering in their yards and sidewalks."[92]

Maynard Arsove notes that there was extensive television coverage, also, of the deteriorating nature of the threatened neighborhood at this time of "rotten apple" houses, as Gibbs called them.

On March 10, 1969, the mayor's office sent a resolution to the City Council that would enable the city to take over purchase, management and maintenance of properties held by the State Highway Department in the RHT corridor. The following day, the City Council Streets and Sewers Committee recommended adoption of the resolution. Donald Gibbs responded by saying that residents of the area did not want either the Highway Department or the city to manage the properties. They wanted them sold on the open market to private buyers. The Streets Committee also requested legislation for appropriation of $3.2 million to pay for a design study of the R. H. Thomson--a move that was to have important ramifications.[93]

Meanwhile, in a legislative hearing, Representative Al Leland of Redmond, Chairman of the House Transportation Committee and a strong backer of highways who was dubbed "Asphalt Al" by the activists, gave a cryptic warning: "The city of Seattle had better count its blessings or there may be some things withdrawn. I think the votes are here in the legislature to do that and if it comes to a showdown the losers won't be those areas outside Seattle."[94]

On March 12, 1969, the City Council appropriated $121,813.63 from the 1960 bond fund to reimburse the state for one-third of the right-of-way cost for the Arboretum Interchange built in 1962.[95]

In a story headlined, "Council Approval Seen for Thomson Way Study Funds," Bob Lane wrote in the Times: "The $3.2 million the City Council probably will appropriate for continuing studies of the R. H. Thomson Way project will finance work by engineers and architects, acoustical experts, landscape architects, and sociologists."[96] Okamoto-Liskamm's assignment was "to determine how some kind of transportation facility can be constructed without causing harm to the neighborhoods through which it will pass." The firm was to call on other prinicpal firms for information and advice. The study, which would require 15 months, would determine "how to best serve the neighborhood, how to best serve the city," said Roy Morse, City Engineer.

Initially, leaders of CARHT had decided not to fight the renewal of contract for Okamoto-Liskamm. They saw no real danger in it, had come to like some individuals in the firm, and felt somewhat reluctant about threatening people's jobs. "Margaret Tunks rescued us," Arsove says.[97] She had been out of town and returned to insist that they prevent renewal of the contract. She recognized the political necessity of opposing the contract renewal.

Tunks remembers the incident and suggests that her absence from the city had given her a certain perspective on the situation. The contract renewal seemed important to her, and it did indeed become the turning point for the R. H. Thomson. Tunks stresses

that the Okamoto-Liskamm contract did not allow for the possibility of not building the Thomson.[98] She can document the misunderstandings of both government officials and citizens on this point. They needed only to read the contract itself.

Citizens Against Freeways issued a statement against appropriation of the $3.2 million: "The R. H. Thomson would not be built for Seattle residents, it would be built for use of surburbanites... people who will live there because of the road."[99]

The outcry against the appropriation was considerable, according to Arsove. CARHT launched an intensive telephone campaign. Charles Carroll, Council President, remarked that his phone had never rung so much. Floyd Miller had become acting mayor as Braman departed for a position with the Department of Transportation in Washington, D.C., so one pro-RHT vote was missing from the City Council.

On March 24, the City Council voted to defer action on the $3.2 million. Phyllis Lamphere asked for further study: "I think $3.2 million is far beyond anything we've ever spent like this on a highway."[100]

Margaret Tunks asserts that Roy Morse, city engineer, essentially killed the proposal when he responded to the City Council's questions by stating that R. H. Thomson funds could be used only for the R. H. Thomson--not for a study to decide whether or not it should be built. Therefore there was no valid source for funding the study.[101]

The climax came on March 31, 1969, as the Council, meeting as a committee of the whole, voted 4 to 4 and thus killed a motion to spend $25,000 on a study to determine how much the proposed $3.2 million study should cost and what it should study. In fact, the

R.H. Thomson was essentially defeated by this tied vote on a study-of-a-study![102]

In an April 1 article in the Times, Dave Suffia pointed out that "the Council has come under heavy pressure in recent weeks from opponents of the Thomson Way proposal, particularly in the Montlake area."[103] Several dozen persons had appeared at the meetings to protest any money allocations on the Thomson. One CARHT activist remembers a Laurelhurst attorney waving a large stack of petitions.

Council members Mrs. Harlan Edwards, Paul Alexander, Mike Mitchell and Ted Best voted for the $25,000 request. Members Charles M. Carroll, Sam Smith, Tim Hill and Phyllis Lamphere (the latter three, the 'hew breed") voted no. Best, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, said, "How can we find out answers to the R. H. Thomson if we don't have a study?" Carroll replied, "I'm against it. Any money we spend is wasted. I'd rather see the money go to the domed stadium."[104]

Councilman Don D. Wright, newly appointed to take Floyd Miller's place, announced that he would vote against any money for the Thomson project because of concern for Seattle neighborhoods that would be disrupted and Seattle residents who would be displaced. Phyllis Lamphere commented that the Thomson was "dead until the Council is satisfied it has been properly planned to serve people in a way they want to be served." Charles M. Carroll said, "We realize traffic has to be moved, but the time has come to quit cutting swaths through neighborhoods and disturbing people's lives."[103]

Work on the R. H. Thomson Parkway would be shelved for "two or three more years," Mayor Floyd Miller announced.[106] Mike Conant

reported widely divergent responses. Victor Steinbrueck called Miller's announcement "great" and added, "We should plan for a mass transportation system before we destroy everything we cherish." Walter Hundley agreed with the idea of obtaining more facts on transportation but added that something had to be done to meet Central Area traffic needs. City Councilman Sam Smith said, "I'm happy about it. However, we should do something to protect homeowners in the Thomson corridor who now have a cloud hanging over the future of their property." Donald K. McClure, Chairman of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce's Urban Transportation Committee, warned of the increasing traffic loads on Interstate 5.

Miller stressed that the parkway was "not dead. As long as it is part of the comprehensive plan, it will be built."[107] But the $175 million project would be delayed until the city could prepare a plan that forecasts future needs of people, buses, cars and rapid transit, he said.

Seattle's two daily papers differed in their editorial stances. The Post-Intelligencer stated: "Mayor Miller is taking the sensible course of action, therefore, in deferring work on the Thomson in favor of a comprehensive study which we trust will lead to a better balanced program of transportation planning for the city."[108] The Times insisted that "city officials cannot defer those decisions indefinitely....On the Thomson issue, Mayor Miller, a majority of the City Council and the city's Engineering Department appear to be seeking the easy way out."[109]

A memorable day for CARHT was May 4, 1969. More than 2,000 persons turned out for a rally in the Arboretum to protest the proposed fourth bridge across Lake Washington. Seated among flowers

and trees near the Japanese Garden, the crowd listened to a jazz band and a series of pleas to save the park from the threatening ribbons of concrete. Victor Steinbrueck told the group, "We have seen the last of urban planning that does not involve people." State Representatives David Sprague and Jonathan Whetzel were on hand. Sprague asked for support of a balanced system of transportation. Deputy Mayor Ed Devine took the opportunity to urge the adoption of rapid-transit systems. Other speakers included Flo Ware, representing the Central Area; Maynard Arsove, representing CARHT; and David Birkner, conservationist and recreation specialist.[110]

Norman Sather served as chairman of the "Save the Arboretum" Committee. This was really "our own front organization," according to Don Gibbs.

> All the huge banners--the one that was strung across the stone bridge and others--were done on the sidewalk in front of my house. All the CARHT crew used my house as headquarters for the logistics. Don Deibert and I built the speakers and bandstand. I rented the PA system. We wanted to create the appearance that grass roots organizations against the Thomson were springing up all over the place. But in fact it was our money, our energy and our ideas. But don't let that obscure the fact that 3,500 people showed up that day, a Sunday, and they were there from all over the city.[111]

Transportation Committee Chariman Al Leland criticized opponents of the R. H. Thomson for "...holding up the economic growth of the entire Puget Sound Region." He and George Andrews, new Director of the State Highway Department, and city planning officials declared that the RHT was an integral part of Seattle's freeway network and was needed in some form, not necessarily a full-blown freeway.[112]

On May 21, Mayor Miller called for formation of a task force to make recommendations within 60 days on the scope of a study of

the proposed R. H. Thomson Way and other transportation facilities including rapid transit in the east part of the city. The mayor's suggestion was viewed as "an attempt to get the Thomson Way and other transportation proposals moving again after a deadlock that developed in the City Council last month."[113]

Opposition to the proposed RHT and freeways generally "at this time" was expressed by the King County Democratic Central Committee.[114] Citizens Against Freeways, through a letter from its president, David Lefebvre, told Mayor Miller that any transportation study considered by the city must cover all of Seattle and not be limited to the RHT corridor.[115]

In July of 1969, the City's Engineering Department requested an appropriation by the City Council from the 1960 bond fund for $409,546.83 to finance the city's share of right-of-way payments made by the state for property in the RHT corridor between East Calhoun and East Aloha Streets. This was to be a partial payment for "hardship cases caused by extended litigation on this section of Thomson Way."[116]

The Montalke Community Club and CARHT asked that the city immediately refurbish the houses it owned in the RHT corridor and sell them to private owners. Funds for maintaining the houses were lacking, as the City Corporation Counsel ruled that 1960 bond funds could not be used for this purpose.[117]

The R. H. Thomson Expressway became the leading topic of conversation for the 90 to 100 residents of the Laurelhurst and University districts who attended a mass transit meeting at Batelle Memorial Auditorium, sponsored by Forward Thrust and Metro.[118] The

citizens were assured that the construction of a northeast rail line as part of a public mass transit system would not depend on construction of the RHT.[119]

Yet, at a later meeting at the Lake City Community Center, nearly 100 persons were told that a rapid transit line to northeast Seattle would cost $17.5 million more if the RHT were not available. Harry Goldie, chairman of Forward Thrust's Mass Transit Committee, said the increased cost would stem from the loss of right-of-way for a transit line which Thomson would provide![120]

In August, 1969, a special transportation task force, including representative from the mayor's office, City Engineer Morse, Planning Director John Spaeth, and Model Cities Director Hundley, recommended delaying development of the RHT corridor pending a complete urban design and transportation study of the east side of the city. The study was to be directed by the Department of Community Development and carried out by a design team to include De Leuw, Cather and Okamoto-Liskamm. The proposal was forwarded to the City Council with the suggestion that the Council present it at a public hearing later the same month.[121] The study was never funded.

George H. Andrews, State Highways Director, said on December 12 that he would seek permission from the State Highway Commission to study major highway improvements in Seattle if the city were to drop its plans to build the R. H. Thomson Way or were to build it inadequately. "The Thomson route was counted upon when Interstate 5 through Seattle was designed and built," Andrews said. "It is obvious these inevitable loads will have to be carried somewhere or the city will strangle in its own traffic."[122]

December 17, 1969, was the date of a hearing in Bothell on

SR 522, "the top of the Thomson," which lasted from 7:30 a.m. until 1:00 a.m. the next day. In an impressively documented 37-page analysis of the hearing, Margaret Tunks details the denial of rights to the public:

> As the hearing professed on the night of December 17 and into the morning of December 18, it became increasingly apparent that citizens were being denied their right to speak, ask questions, and be heard; the State and Federal officials present must have been aware of the denial of these rights. The failure of these officials to act during the hearing and after the hearing to insure the public rights constitutes acquiescence to these acts and to the illegal processes.

In the P-I Special Report entitled "Parkway Ends in Rancor, Weeds" in February of 1970, Larry McCarten detailed the problems of home owners in the RHT corridor. "Ultimately," he wrote, "it would have taken out about a thousand homes and a number of business places. Already the city and state have expended nearly $700,000 in purhcasing property and helping residents move from their homes."[123]

At a meeting of the University Chamber of Commerce, Dr. Richard Page, special assistant to Mayor Wes Uhlman, declared that the R. H. Thomson was dead and had been for a couple of years. "The mayor has stated officially that the city does not plan to build the expressway and is returning the money to the state," he said. "The city will sell the houses it has bought." He pointed to the Forward Thrust election in May, with transit the most urgent of the five issues.[124]

The R. H. Thomson Way showed "a glimmer of life," according David Suffia in March.[125] The City Council Streets and Sewers Committee postponed for one week action on a request of Mayor

Wes Uhlman to pay $656,110 to the state. The payment would have killed the near-term prospects of the RHT being built. To make payment, the city would have to sell bonds that voters approved for construction of the RHT.

On May 19, 1970, the Forward Thrust rapid transit bond issue faced the voters for the second time. Propositon One included $440 million for a single, integrated, improved public transportation system to serve the Seattle Metropolitan Area. The system would have involved a trunk line with grade-separated facilities (both electric rail and exclusive-lane busway) for a total of 49 miles, supported by more than 600 miles of express bus, local bus and feeder bus service. The system was to be financed, constructed and operated by the Municipality of Metropolitan Seattle (Metro). Seattle Transit and Metropolitan Transit systems would have been acquired and consolidated.

Proposition One was endorsed by the County Council, the City Council, the Urban League, the Municipal League, CHECC, the Boeing Company--180 groups. Opposition came primarily from "Overtaxed, Inc.," headed by Harley Hoppe.

When election day arrived, the entire Forward Thrust package of five issues failed at the polls. The negative vote on transit was 53.5% James Ellis, founder and president of Forward Thrust, noted the declining local economy when he said, "We have rowed against a tide that simply was impossible..."[126]

On May 20, the City Council Planning Committee recommended removal of the RHT from the city comprehensive plan. Councilman George Cooley and Tim Hill voted to recommend removal, while Wayne Larkin voted against it. Removal had been sought by CARHT. The

Council earlier had voted to return money to the state that the state had given the city for preliminary acquistion and work on the Thomson project.[127] (Times, May 21, 1970.)

A historic moment arrived on June 1, 1970, when the City Council voted 7 to 2 to erase the R. H. Thomson from the city's comprehensive plan. Only Ted Best and Wayne Larkin opposed the move.

In other action at the Committee of the Whole public hearing in the council chamber, that same day, the council members also endorsed the concept of building a six-lane Bay Freeway connecting Highway I-5 to the Seattle Center. Ironically, CARHT and many other groups defeated by referendum measure in the very same election at which the voters repealed funding for the RHT.

The Bay Freeway would make another fascinating case study. The project was eventually resubmitted to the voters as a result of a court decision in which CARHT was the plaintiff. The organization used funds left over from the Thomson battles, a sizeable portion of these from an ananymous single donor, to pay a lawyer. Focus of the legal debate was the assertion by CARHT that the Bay Freeway project as it developed was not the project described to voters when they passed the bond issue.

Meanwhile, the council's action on the RHT was taken despite the recommendations of the Seattle Planning Commission and Mayor Wes Uhlman. The Planning Commission had recommended unanimously that the line of the Thomson corridor be left on the comprehensive plan because of its relation to the traffic flow plan in Seattle.

In an eleventh-hour move, Mayor Uhlman wrote the Council that defeat of the Forward Thrust rapid transit bond issue necessitated a complete review of traffic needs. Uhlman suggested that the

Thomson Freeway designation be removed from the comprehensive plan and be replaced by the designation "Transportation Study Corridor."

As Mike Conant wrote in the P-I "Uhlman's suggestion pleased no one-especially anti-Thomson community groups."[128]

Maynard Arsove, representing CARHT, told the council: "The Thomson in the minds of many people is the most despised public works project ever put before the City of Seattle."

Mike Conant grew eloquent regarding this "historic milestone" in the June 7 issue of the P-I:

> By voting seven to two to erase the line that delineated the Thomson corridor on the city's comprehensive plan for development, the council explicitly recognized the public's understanding of the urban dilemma and implicitly bowed to the old Populist theory of government....It was a revival of the old Jeffersonian theory of democracy that power starts with the people--a feeling greatly abandoned during the federalism of World War Two....The vote to scrap the Thomson may have been a harbinger that in the 1970's the politics of compromise are going to take more and bigger beatings.[129]

Robert A Barr, writing in the Times, mused that:

> Probably the happiest funeral dirge ever heard in the city is being played in the Montlake District in the corridor area of the now-dead R. H. Thomson Way. The laughter of children, the bang of carpenters' hammers and the snarl of power saws and lawnmowers echo in the City Council's decision to wipe out the project, which would have created a six-lane freeway through the city's east side. The Thomson decision was a crown on the heads of Maynard Arsove, president of Citizens Against the R. H. Thomson, and others who fought the project in a never-say-die effort.[130]

Approximately $4.2 million had already been spent on the abondoned project, much of this for the purchase of property along the proposed route. Roy Morse, City Engineer, said to reporters that it was "difficult to determine what the public wants."[131] Planners were in a quandry, he said, since the displeasure with

freeways was voiced loud and clear, yet a bond issue for rapid transit was rejected.

As late as August 8, 1970, Mayor Uhlman said that there were several decisions that could be made on the Thomson, including going ahead with the project or putting it to a vote of the public. He hinted that he could change his mind about killing the Thomson, because of the need to do something about the traffic problems in the area of the Montlake Bridge.[132]

On that same day, Corporation Counsel A. L. Newbould announced his opinion that the City Council could not abandon the project without voter approval. The expressway, which already had cost the taxpayers more than $4 million, was authorized by the voters in 1960, and if the project were to be dropped, it was the voters who must say so, according to Newbould.[133] Newbould told the Council members that neither they nor the Mayor had authority to stop the project.

On August 11, city officials began action to form a substitute highway plan in place of the controversial RHT. Voters would be asked to approve the plan, thereby killing the ten-year proposal to build a limited-access highway from Rainier Avenue through the Central Area and University District to Lake City Way. Mayor Wes Uhlman appointed a special interdepartmental task force, headed by Deputy Mayor Richard Page, to formulate an alternate proposal to the Thomson within thirty days.[134]

Page announced that the Montlake Bridge "bottleneck" was on top of the list of possible alternatives to the RHT project. The possibilities included widening the existing bridge, building a new one, or tunneling under the ship canal. All were to meet with resistance from the Montlake community.

Two days later in a Times article by David Suffia, Mayor Uhlman stressed the need for a second Montlake bridge "to alleviate the tremendous traffic bottleneck there."

In September the special City Hall committee recommended that Seattle citizens vote--probably in January--whether they wanted to abandon plans for the RHT. The committee had been assured by Corporation Counsel A. L. Newbould's office that a single ballot proposition requiring a simple majority could cancel the expressway and assign $10.2 million remaining bonds to other uses.[135]

Meanwhile, CARHT was organizing to fight the proposed Bay Freeway. On January 3, 1971, Mike Conant indicated that planners were shooting for a special election in the spring at which voters would be asked to approve spending approximately $10 million in Thomson Freeway funds for other critical traffic needs in Seattle. "The money represents about two-thirds of the funds which voters approved in 1960 for Thomson construction, and as such spiraling inflation and labor costs have since made them only a trifle in comparison to what it would cost now to build the freeway."[136] Conant goes on to write that "shelving the Thomson permanently will be one of the first, and perhaps the biggest, victories of mind over matter in Seattle. It is the sort of victory that will fuel up environmentalists, ecologists and anti-freeway types to bang away in court at other controversial projects--the Bay Freeway, Pike Place Market urban renewal and the Highway I-90 from Seattle to the east side of Lake Washington." Conant made accurate predictions: all three later proved to be urban battlefields with at least limited victories for citizen activists.

A resolution removing the R.H. Thomson Parkway from the city's comprehensive plan was finally adopted by the City Council on January 11, 1971, more than six months after the Council ordered the resolution prepared. Best and Larkin voted against the measure, which had been sought by CARHT and other groups.

Then, on November 7, 1971, four City Council members called for a public vote February 8 on whether to use bond monies originally approved for the RHT for a city public-works program. The proposal was by Councilman Sam Smith, who said the idea was endorsed by Council members Jeanette Williams, Ken Rogers, and Charles M. Carroll.

The morning paper of February 9, 1972, reported the results of the previous day's election: "Seattle voters buried two freeways yesterday--the Bay Freeway, promoted strongly by government, business and labor; and the Thomson Expressway, already abandoned by City Hall." The vote against the Thomson was by a margin of two to one. Dick Clever, reporter, commented, "Its rejection was a forgone conclusion."[137]

AN ANALYSIS

Many observations on the approaches and successes of the anti-Thomson effort are contained in the preceeding chronological account--both my own observations and those of others. It is not yet possible to make a complete, objective analysis of "what worked and why," even though eleven years have passed since the formation of CARHT (and even more years since Al Schweppe first went to court on behalf of the homeowners in the Thomson corridor).

Why not? First, this writer has research yet to do and more individuals to interview. But, when that groundwork is completed, differences of opinion will remain. Even the finality of the Thomson's "death" remains a question in some minds.

As has been noted, Mr. Schweppe's role in the stalling of constuction of the Thomson was crucial. Each time it seemed that the R. H. Thomson was about to move closer to being built, Schweppe was back in court. Three times to the State Supreme Court! During these carefully plotted delays, community groups and individuals were slowly growing more aware of the impending freeway and its implications for life in the city. The need for organized opposition was becoming more apparent.

"Victory by delay" Schweppe called it in an interview. The R. H. Thomson was "the worst monstrosity I ever heard of," says Schweppe; this was a case in which he thought the government was wrong and ought to be fought. He remembers suggesting a tunnel under the Arboretum at one point; he was told that this was not possible because of the prohibitive costs. "If they ever do it, I still think that's the way to go."

CARHT was effectively organized and politcally sophisticated. Although some members like to think that the group was a diverse group of individuals (and they were, in some respects), they were largely middle class and well-educated. The Montlake and Ravenna communities are home to a large number of University of Washington faculty members--and to other professional people as well. Many of these people had never before been politically involved. Many did not become actively involved until they realized the impending threat to their own homes.

True, there were those who had been politically involved for some time. They helped to provide the know-how (and connections) which enabled CARHT to organize quickly and have impact almost immediately.

We have already indicated the mobilizing ideology of CARHT. No longer would they entertain notions of <u>where</u> to place the expressway. They were motivated to fight it in any form and in any place. Perhaps this conception of their task is what led the engineers and some government officials to dismiss the CARHT group as people who would not compromise (i.e., listen to "reason"). They wouldn't.

In deliberately choosing to be <u>against</u> the proposed freeway, CARHT leaders were able to phrase their goal clearly and captivate the imagination of the large groups of people whom they needed for support.

Although the organization retained one individual as chairman during its most active years, this was in no way a "one-man" operation. Many people participated in the formulation of ideas and in the final decision-making. A copy of minutes of one CARHT board meeting is included in the appendix of this paper.

Many of the strategies of CARHT have been detailed in this paper: the effort to include a large number of community groups, the use of the media (including colorful letters to the editor), the traveling road shows designed to educate fellow citizens, long hours of testimony before various hearings, the massive letter-writing compaigns at each new turn of events, the detective work needed to reveal the block-busting which was occurring in the threatened corridor, the careful study of documents necessary for taking an intelligent position (Margaret Tunks tells me she once spent four months in the University Library doing a bibliography for Ravenna), the attempt to participate in on-going processes such as Forward Thrust and Model Cities, the continual awareness of legislation at the state and federal levels, the use of a carefully orchestrated event to emphasize the unity of people throughout the city.

The dramatic change in the make-up of the City Council should be noted. Anti-freeway activists devoted time, energy, and strategy to the election campaigns of individuals who would prove amenable to their point of view.

Also, the anti-freeway activists in Seattle felt themselves to be part of a protest which was sweeping the country. Efforts in other cities served as inspiration. There were books to lend support, such as Jane Jacobs' The Economy of Cities, Helen Leavitt's Superhighway--Superhoax, and A. Q. Mowbray's Road to Ruin.

Clif Harby, who was employed in the city's engineering department at the time of the Thomson controversy, notes that city government was caught by surprise. The engineers had long felt that they knew best about how to move traffic, that the citizens had hired them

to make decisions. The bond issues had passed, and that was the last they had heard from the public. They felt at first that only a small group of people were concerned--Tunks and Arsove.

It is true that the potential impact upon the Arboretum created sympathy for the cause of CARHT in other parts of Seattle. Those most strongly motivated, however, were those living directly in the path of the RHT.

"Citizen activism is attached to brush fires," says Margaret Tunks. People react when they are about to be directly affected. That is why the CAF Jane Addams meetings were such a success, she points out: there was an immediate danger.

Tunks agrees that would-be activists also need knowledge to affect decisions, to be able to use political force in the right away. As I have indicated, CARHT leaders maintained this approach. They were "using the system to the hilt," in the words of Don Gibbs. Anti-expressway feelings had been long simmering in Montlake. The fires lept high when the property acquisitions began.

In closing, let me again emphasize that the Montlake community did not act alone; nor was the Thomson route through Montlake the only target of CARHT. Many organizations, many people were involved. The Ravenna Community Club mobilized more people than did Montlake.

Tunks is skeptical about long-term reforms. She remains convinced that the R.H. Thomson was defeated primarily because the money was no longer there. "Many of my friends would find this difficult to accept," she says.

Yet the CARHT organization still serves as an excellent model for citizen participation. These were intelligent people utilizing time-proven methods to achieve a definite goal. Uncompleted concrete

overpasses stand in the waters off the Arboretum today, used only by youngsters as very expensive diving boards; they serve as a monument to the freeway that was never built. CARHT still exists today, with Dean Fournier as president.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Virgil G. Bogue, Plan of Seattle, Report of the Municipal Plans Commission, Seattle: Lowman and Hanford, 1911.

[2]Clifford N. Harby, "A Chronology of Events Concerning Seattle's Proposed R.H.Thomson Expressway," written for CETC 425 (Introduction to Urban Transportation), University of Washington, December, 1970, p. 1.

[3]The Seattle Times, February 23, 1953.

[4]"Planning for Thoroughfares," Empire Expressway I, City of Seattle Planning Commission, December, 1957.

[5]Ibid, p. 19.

[6]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 27, 1958.

[7]Empire Expressway Correspondence File, Seattle Engineering Department, letter by M. E. Wilson, October 20, 1958.

[8]The Argus, August 21, 1959.

[9]The Seattle Times, Sunday, October 4, 1959.

[10]The Seattle Times, September 14, 1960.

[11]The Seattle Times, October 26, 1960.

[12]Ibid.

[13]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, November 27, 1960.

[14]The Seattle Times, May 10, 1961.

[15]The Argus, June 2, 1961.

[16]The University District Herald, June 14, 1961.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

[19]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 17, 1961.

FOOTNOTES, continued...

[20]Ibid.

[21]The Seattle Times, July 20, 1962.

[22]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 14, 1963.

[23]The Seattle Times, September 14, 1963.

[24]The Seattle Times, June 11, 1964.

[25]Ibid.

[26]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 12, 1964.

[27]The Seattle Times, June 17, 1964.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Seattle Engineering Department, City Engineer letter dated May 10, 1965.

[30]PSRTS letter by J. K. Mladinov, dated May 17, 1965.

[31]"Hearings on the R. H. Thomson Expressway," beginning May 27, 1965. Reference Library, Municipal Building, City of Seattle.

[32]The Seattle Times, May 29, 1965.

[33]The Seattle Times, October 26, 1965.

[34]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, August 24, 1966.

[35]Journal of Commerce, June 16, 1967.

[36]University District Herald, July 19, 1967.

[37]The Seattle Times, August 25, 1967.

[38]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, August 28, 1967.

[39]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 11, 1967.

[40]The Seattle Times, September 10, 1967.

[41]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 11, 1967.

FOOTNOTES, continued...

[42]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, September 11, 1967.

[43]Ibid.

[44]The Seattle Times, September 14, 1967.

[45]Ibid.

[46]The Seattle Times, September 26, 1967.

[47]The Seattle Times, October 5, 1967.

[48]The Seattle Times, November 15, 1967.

[49]The Seattle Times, November 23, 1967.

[50]Ibid.

[51]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, November 24, 1968.

[52]The Seattle Times, December 8, 1967.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Harby, loc. cit.

[55]Geiser, "Urban Transportation Decision Making," p. 94.

[56]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 7, 1968.

[57]The Seattle Times, March 7, 1968.

[58]The Seattle Times, March 8, 1968.

[59]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 9, 1968.

[60]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 12, 1968.

[61]The Seattle Times, March 12, 1968.

[62]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 12, 1968.

[63]The Seattle Times, March 17, 1968.

FOOTNOTES, continued...

[64]The Seattle Times, April 2, 1968.

[65]Interview with Margaret Tunks, July 7, 1979.

[66]Interview with Maynard Arsove, May, 1978.

[67]Letter from Don Gibbs, May 6, 1979.

[68]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, July 16, 1968.

[69]Interview with Maynard Arsove, July 7, 1979.

[70]The University District Herald, July 31, 1968.

[71]The Seattle Times, August 14, 1968.

[72]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 3, 1968.

[73]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 16, 1968.

[74]Interview with Maynard Arsove, July 7, 1979.

[75]The Seattle Times, October 9, 1968.

[76]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, November 7, 1968.

[77]Letter from Donald Gibbs, May 6, 1979.

[78]Ibid.

[79]The Seattle Times, December 5, 1968.

[80]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, December 6, 1968.

[81]The Seattle Times, December 7, 1968.

[82]The Seattle Times, December 9, 1968.

[83]The Seattle Times, December 10, 1968.

[84]The Seattle Times, December 11, 1968.

[85]The Seattle Times, December 12, 1968.

FOOTNOTES, continued...

[86]Ibid.

[87]Interview with Margaret Tunks, July 7, 1979.

[88]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer and The Seattle Times, January 16, 1969.

[89]The Seattle Times, March 6, 1969.

[90]The Seattle Times, March 7, 1969.

[91]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 8, 1969.

[92]The Seattle Times, March 8, 1969.

[93]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 23, 1969.

[94]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, March 18, 1969.

[95]Harby, loc. cit.

[96]The Seattle Times, March 20, 1969.

[97]Interview with Maynard Arsove, May, 1978.

[98]Interview with Margaret Tunks, July 7, 1979.

[99]The Seattle Times, March 23, 1969.

[100]The Seattle Post-Incelligencer, March 25, 1969.

[101]Interview with Margaret Tunks, July 7, 1979.

[102]The Seattle Times, April 1, 1969.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Ibid.

[105]The Seattle Times, April 23, 1969.

[106]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, April 29, 1969.

[107]Ibid.

FOOTNOTES, continued...

[108]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, May 1, 1969.

[109]The Seattle Times, May 2, 1969.

[110]The Seattle Times, May 5, 1969.

[111]Letter from Donald Gibbs, May 6, 1979.

[112]University of Washington Daily, May 14, 1969.

[113]The Seattle Times, May 22, 1969,

[114]The Seattle Times, May 29, 1969.

[115]The Seattle Times, June 4, 1969.

[116]Harby, loc, cit.

[117]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, August 7, 1969.

[118]Outlook, August 7, 1969.

[119]University District Herald, August 13, 1969.

[120]The Seattle Times, August 27, 1969.

[121]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, August 15, 1969.

[122]The Seattle Times, December 12, 1969.

[123]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, February 9, 1970.

[124]University District Herald, February 11, 1970.

[125]The Seattle Times, March 11, 1970.

[126]The Seattle Times, May 20, 1970.

[127]The Seattle Times, May 21, 1970.

[128]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 2, 1970.

[129]The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 7, 1970.

FOOTNOTES, continued...

[130] The Seattle Times, June 11, 1970.

[131] Ibid.

[132] The Seattle Times, August 8, 1970.

[133] Ibid.

[134] The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, August 12, 1970.

[135] The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, January 3, 1971.

[136] The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, January 3, 1971.

[137] The Seattle Post-Intelligencer, February 9, 1972.

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Gibbs, Donald, letter to Peggy Johnson, May 6, 1979.

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"Hearings on the R. H. Thomson Expressway, "beginning May 27, 1965. Reference Library, Municipal Building, City of Seattle.

"Planning for Thoroughfares: Empire Expressway I," City of Seattle Planning Commission, December, 1957.

201 Stories from Seattle Newspapers, February 23, 1953--February 9, 1972.

Interviews with Maynard Arsove, Clifford Harby, David Rudo, Alfred Schweppe, Margaret Tunks, and (by phone) Donald Gibbs.

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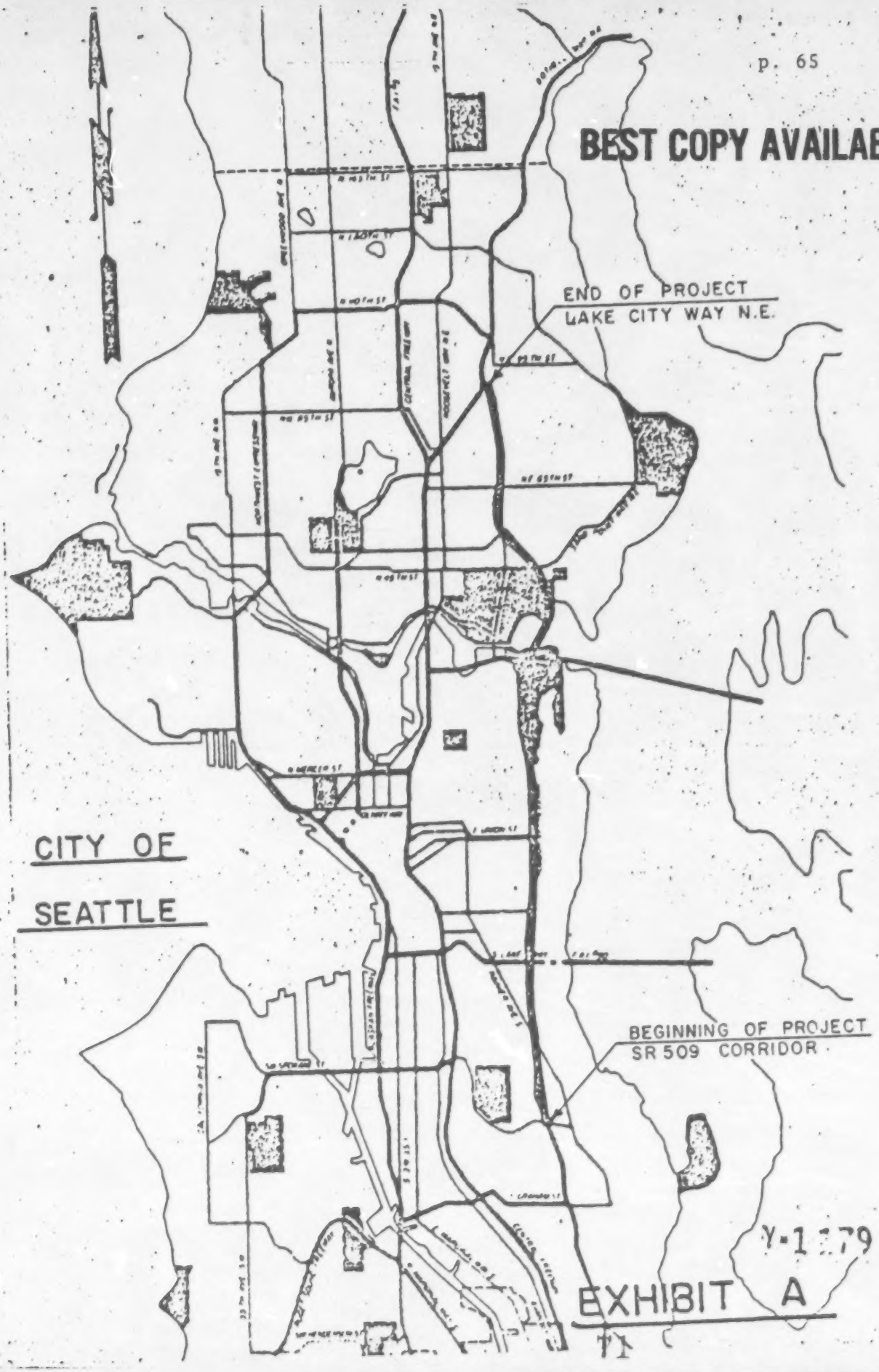

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EXHIBIT A

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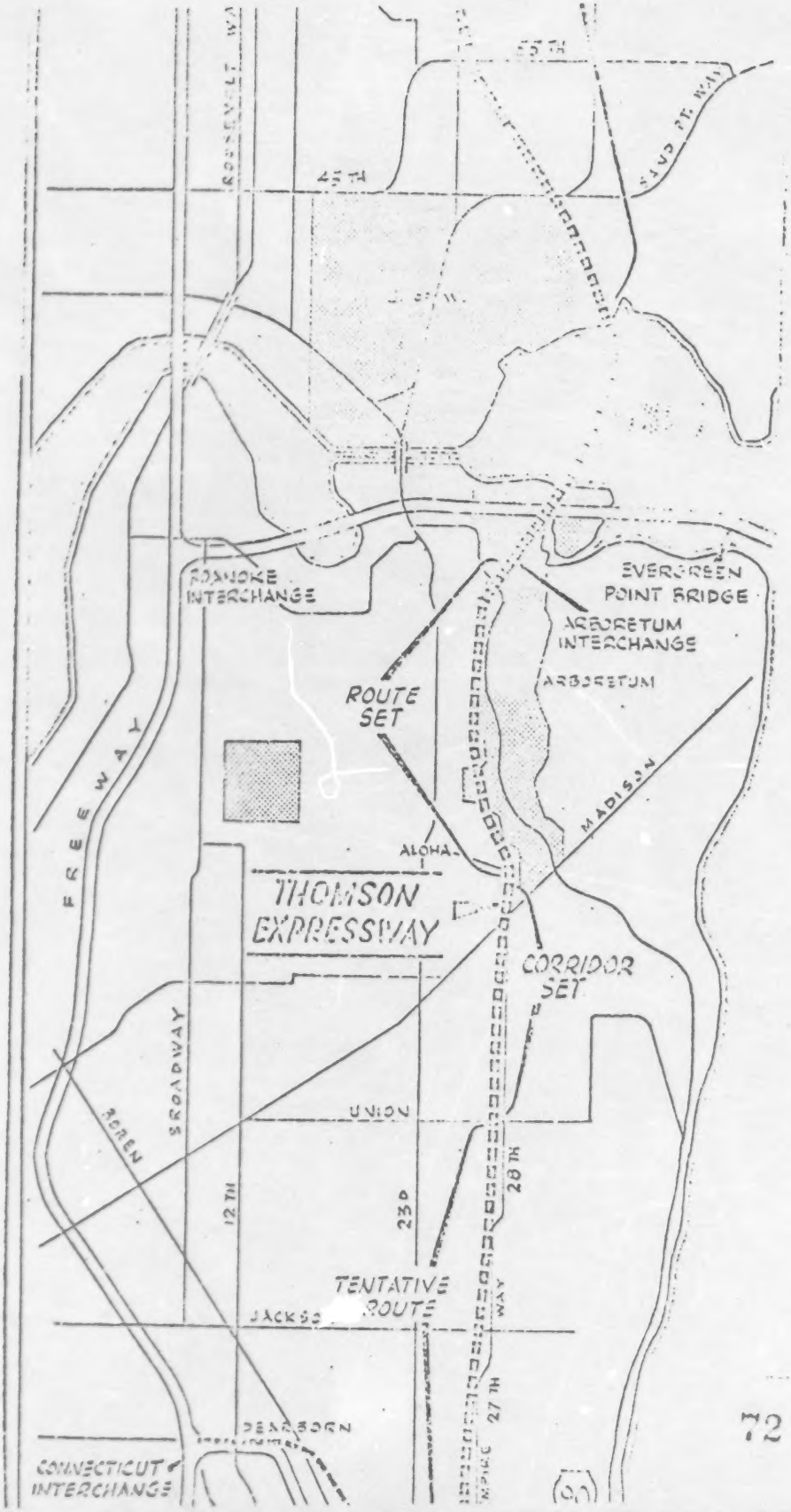

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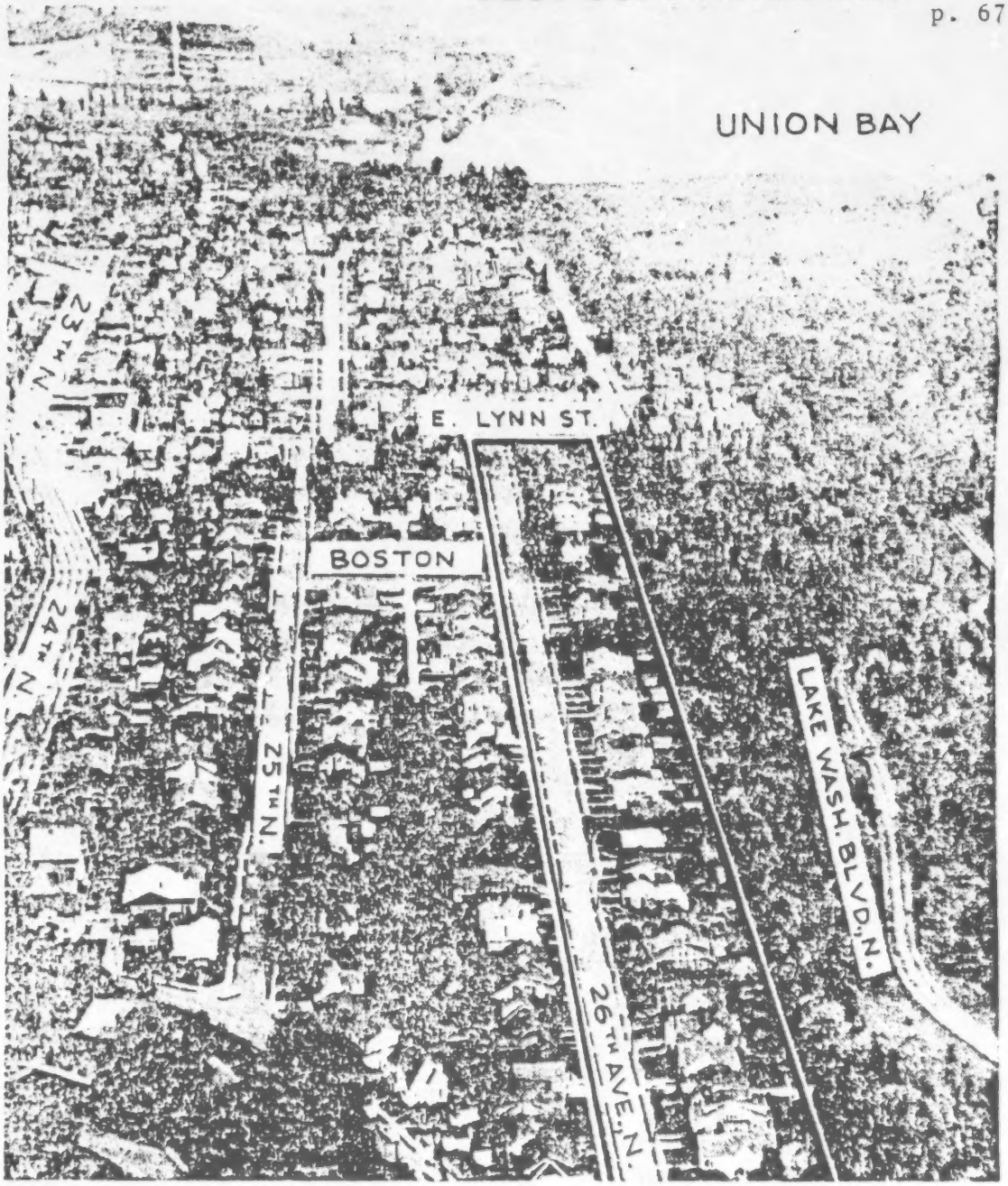


This photo of the controversial area (Arboretum at right) appeared in the Post-Intelligencer on Wednesday, October 26, 1960. Two blocks of houses standing to the right of E. Lynn St. were later removed. Houses within the disputed corridor of "Route B" (marked with lines) still stand today.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This illustration of proposed interchange of the expressway with the new Evergreen Point Bridge appeared in The Argus, June 2, 1961. Montlake community is at lower left, University Arboretum at lower center, Broadmoor golf course at lower right.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CARHT

CITIZENS AGAINST THE R.H. THOMSON
CITIZENS ALERT FOR RAPID VERSUS HIGHWAY TRANSIT

SPECIAL BULLETIN

PRESIDENT: MAYNARD ARSOVE
VICE-PRESIDENTS: WILLIAM FRANTILLA and DAVID RUDO
MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN: KAY EYRE
SECRETARY: PHYLLIS MYHR
EDITOR: LUCILE TOWNSEND

VOLUME I, NO. 1 APRIL 26, 1969

CITIZEN ACTION EFFECTIVE AGAINST HIGHWAY LOBBY

SUCCESS OF CITIZEN GROUPS IN BLOCKING R H THOMSON IN SEATTLE CITY COUNCIL

On Monday, March 31, the Seattle City Council by a vote of 4 to 4 refused to allocate any further funds for the RHThomson and Councilwoman Phyllis Lamphere called for a comprehensive restudy of the entire urban transportation plan for the City of Seattle.

Here's how it happened: At present, urban design firm Okamoto-Liskamm is under a $700,000 contract to the City of Seattle to "study" the RHThomson. Recently, the City Engineer requested the City Council to appropriate an additional $3.2 million for "further study" of RHThomson.

Citizen reaction was swift and hundreds of letters, phone calls, and telegrams inundated City Council members, opposing the $3.2 million. In response, Charles Carroll and Sam Smith called for the City Council to meet as a Committee of the Whole on March 31 to consider the proposal.

When the Council meets as a C of W, it may hear testimony from the public, and on the afternoon of March 31 the City Council heard three and a half hours of testimony from concerned citizens and citizen groups.

Among those testifying were Maynard Arsove, David Rudo, and Donald Gibbs of CARHT, Margaret Tunks of CAF (Citizens Against Freeways), a member of Save The Arboretum Committee, and numerous private citizens and community clubs.

The situation right now is this: Don Wright, newly appointed ninth member of the City Council, is on record against the RHThomson, so any future vote is likely to remain against further money for it. Maynard Arsove, President of CARHT, has presented to the Mayor and City Council a "Proposal for Transportation Planning for the City of Seattle." Copies of this proposal, dated April 14, 1969, are available. Write to City Council members and support it.

CITIZENS GROUPS TESTIFY IN MARCH AND APRIL AT STATE LEGISLATIVE HEARINGS IN OLYMPIA

After the 41st session of the State Legislature, the "highway lobby" will never be quite the same. Citizen voices are being heard. Our president Maynard Arsove and many others have been to Olympia to testify on a number of bills affecting highways and transportation in this state (SJR 14, SB 284, HB 327, for example). Arsove urges you to focus now on these three bills:

HB 839 (Fourth Bridge)
SB 311 (Advance Acquisition)
SB 724 (Highway Omnibus Bill)

See Page 2 for details on these and other bills.

SAVE THE ARBORETUM MARCH AND RALLY

DATE: Sunday May 4, 1969 TIME: 3 P.M.
PLACE: Arboretum Edge, 26th E. and E. Lynn

The UW Arboretum is the largest on the West Coast and fourth largest in the country. It enjoys an international reputation and is an irreplacable asset to the city of Seattle. Now the Arboretum is threatened. Read the enclosed fact sheet.

The May 4 Rally will dramatize **to all citizens of Seattle** the threat to the Arboretum. Be there. Bring a friend. Enjoy Sunday afternoon May 4 at the Arboretum and dare to hope that you will be able to enjoy it again five years from now.

David Birkner, who sparked the Glacier Peak Hike-In and Fort Lawton Rally, is handling all arrangements. Save the Arboretum Committee is the sponsor. Speakers, entertainment, and all details will appear in Seattle newspapers.

FROM OUR PRESIDENT: STATEMENT OF CARHT PURPOSE

Formed in June of 1968 to coordinate widespread opposition to the Thomson Expressway and 3rd, 4th, and 5th Lake Washington bridges, CARHT quickly won support of more than ten community councils. It is now expanding both its membership and scope of concern.

The objective is to maintain Seattle as a pleasant place in which to live and work. The threat—in terms of air pollution, noise pollution, destruction of residential neighborhoods and parklands—can perhaps most easily be grasped by the following comparison. Whereas Los Angeles is content to space its freeways about five miles apart, present highway planning for Seattle calls for a network of freeways spaced just one mile apart.

Seattle should not preside over its own destruction. Join and support CARHT, and urge your friends and neighbors to do likewise.

Maynard Arsove
President
CARHT

CARHT MEMBERSHIP FORMS

To get any information you may wish about how to join CARHT and work with us, telephone Membership Chairman Kay Eyre at EA 4-3938.

NOW IT'S OFFICIAL. LAURELHURST COMMUNITY CLUB MAKES SOME RESOLUTIONS

Tuesday evening April 22, members of the Laurelhurst Community Club met and listened politely to two hours of informational briefing by (first) a representative of METRO speaking about rapid transit and (second) a representative of Okamoto-Liskamm and two men from the Engineering Department of the City of Seattle answering questions about the RH Thomson. The Club then passed unanimously four resolutions:

1. to oppose the construction of RHT
2. to oppose the Fourth Bridge
3. to support a comprehensive mass transit plan for Seattle
4. to direct Club president to inform Seattle Mayor and City Council of Resolutions 1, 2, and 3.

There ended the April 22 meeting of the Laurelhurst Community Club.

QUOTABLE QUOTE DEPARTMENT

"The highway people have always had their constituency supporting freeways wherever they were planned.

Now, we're starting to see a highway revolt. It's no longer . . . the bird and bunny people. People are beginning to see the drawbacks of too much freeway and that's our constituency.

We know some freeway systems have caused unrest in poor neighborhoods. While transportation alone won't cause racial unrest or costly riots, these problems can't be solved until we do take care of transportation trouble."

Asst. Transp. Secy. Dorm Braman
Post Intelligencer, 4/2/69, p.B.

STATE LEGISLATION

Time is running out for the 41st session of the Washington State Legislature. But NOW is the time to write to legislators about the following four bills. Any or all of them may see action in the next two weeks. Do your part to influence that action.

HB 839 (Evergreen Point Bridge Expansion or Fourth Bridge) would destroy the Arboretum as a desirable recreation area and if extended to I-5 (Central Freeway) would increase damage to Portage-Bay-Roanoke area. Currently this is in Senate Rules. Write or wire your Senator.

SB 311 (Advance Acquisitions) has no safeguards. This would allow purchase of land for highways before any hearings. This is the highway department's blockbusting bill. It has passed both House and Senate. Wire Dan Evans to veto this bill.

SB 724 (Highway Omnibus Bill) very recently introduced calls for a Department of Urban Transportation within the Highway Department. Few copies of this bill are available. This could be disastrous to the Puget Sound Regional Governmental Conference. This large bill with many items should be checked closely. Ask your legislators to do this also.

HB 641 (Mass Rapid Transit) is back in the House with amendments. The bill is given a good chance of passing. Support it.

Vice-president Bill Frantilla, who compiled the above notes, reported also that all "environmental bills" (HB 328 Department of Environmental Quality, HB 651 Scenic Rivers Act, HB 754 Pollution Control, SB 218 Parklands Bill) appear dead. In many cases death came from the action of the highway lobby.

HARDSHIP BOONDOGGLE EXPOSED

"State Buying Land in U. W. Arboretum Area for Thomson Right-of-Way"

This is the headline of a Feb. 12th **Times** article that quoted a city engineer as claiming " . . . land is being purchased only when owners can prove they are suffering hardship as a result of the state not buying their property." Presumably persons wanting to sell but unable to sell on the open market because of the highway threat were to be considered "hardships."

Among the first to receive the engineer's hardship relief was a lady who simultaneously was negotiating a firm offer of $180,000, from the Port of Seattle for other properties. Investigation by Montlake resident Donald Gibbs revealed she had not offered her home for sale on the open market, nor had any other owner in the 12 hardship cases "approved" by the engineers. Meanwhile, during this same period, other homes in the Thomson corridor, in the same area, had readily been transacted on the open market and at good prices.

Two "hardship families" readily admitted to Gibbs they had not solicited a sale on the open market because they preferred selling to the state—no realtor's fees, and no need to dress up the house for a sale. One couple, renters, found their home sold to the state without knowing the owner was disposed to sell. "We might have bought it ourselves!" they said.

Rent-and-Rot

Clearly, the purpose was to once again strew rotten apple houses through the Thomson corridor. Rented by the engineers on their infamous "no-maintenance" lease, the blight is to spread, lower values, undermine opposition ("the highway is inevitable")—in short, to destroy the very fabric of the neighborhood. Having thus planted a slum, the engineers can later claim blight clearance as an added benefit for their highway project. (This device is now in full effect on 33rd, between Irving and Day streets, for the I-90 project.)

Split

A little history here is enlightening. When the Schweppe litigation against the Thomson terminated Feb. 1968, the city council and the mayor, realizing the Thomson is the most destructive freeway ever planned for Seattle, moved with caution and resolved to take no action until an urban design team had completed its 18-month study. But cavalierly, and on his own, the City Engineer worked quietly in his own direction and gave the state highway department the nod to begin its land grab.

Engineers Bicker

The fraudulence of the hardship ruse was exposed publicly after CARHT secured the support of twelve community councils in bringing slumlord and other charges against the state highway dept. State Engineer E. I. Roberts defended the dept. by claiming "The state undertook this property acquisitions most reluctantly" and then revealed the fact that city engineer Roy Morse had in writing "asked the department to buy properties from any person willing to sell."

Reluctantly?

Gibbs, now working with CARHT support, further discovered that the state had conducted a door-to-door and telephone sales solicitation, blockbusting campaign.

Exposure of these and other facts (some not yet made public) resulted in both daily newspapers editorializing against further, premature purchases. Also, the city will now establish a test of hardship (six months' bona fide effort to sell on the open market at a fair price) before lifting the present moratorium on buying. The city has also promosed to rehabilitate the state's rotten apple houses, but so far no action on this. Meanwhile, the recent purchases include at least one house that has remained vacant and untended since its purchase by the state early this year.

Bulldozed

But no legislation can return to Montlake the more than two blocks of homes and families uprooted several years earlier, nor can it easily eliminate the huge rubble pit on the north end of the arboretum where these families once lived. Only vigilance prevented recurrence of this tragic blunder.

MATCH YOUR LETTERWRITING SKILL AGAINST THIS:

To The Editor **P. I:**

Since harmony between the governor and highway director is vital to the progress of this state, I suggest the following constitutional amendment authorizing the director of highways to appoint the governor subject to confirmation by the highway lobby.

Selection of the governor is too important to be entrusted any longer to mere voters and taxpayers.

Louise Bernard
Letter to Editor
Post-Intelligencer
3/24/69 p. 8

FOR YOUR REFERENCE

With this first CARHT Special Bulletin, we are pleased to provide you with this listing.
(3) means 3rd Legis. Dist. R for Repub D for Demo

SENATE HIGHWAY COMMITTEE

Nat Washington, Chairman (13) D
Al Henry, Vice Chairman (17) D
Robert C. Bailey (19) D
Frank Connor (33) D
Hubert F. Donohue (11) D
Fred H. Dore (37) D
Charles W. Elicker (10) R
Lawrence J. Faulk (26) R
Frank W. Foley (26) D
Sam C. Guess (6) R
Gordon Herr (31) D
Elmer C. Huntley (9) R
James E. Keefe (3) D
Reuben A. Knoblauch (25) D
Brian J. Lewis (41) R
Harry B. Lewis (22) R
Bob McDougall (12) R
August P. Mardesich (38) D
Richard G. Marquardt (45) R
Jim Matson (14) R
Lowell Peterson (40 D
Joel M. Pritchard (36) R
Robert C. Ridder (35) D
Gordon Sandison (24) D
John H. Stender (30) R
Don L. Talley (18) D
Gordon L. Walgren (23) D
Walter B. Williams (43 R

Envelope:
The Hon. John Doe
Legislative Building
Olympia, Wash. 98501

Heading:
Dear Senator Doe:
Dear Representative Doe:

OTHER CITIZEN GROUPS THAT SHARE OUR CONCERNS

The Shoreline League
18540 26th Avenue N.E.
Seattle, Wash. 98155
Chairman: Mr. M.L. Cole
Secy: Mrs. R.B. Allen

Citizens Against Freeways
P.O. Box 15146 Wedgwood Station
Seattle, Wash. 98115
Margaret Tunks or Laurie Ness

SENATE RULES COMMITTEE

John A. Cherberg, Chairman
R. F. Atwood Jr. (42) R
Robert C. Bailey (19) D
Frank Connor (33) D
John L. Cooney (5) D
Frank W. Foley (49) D
William A. Gissberg (39) D
R. R. Bob Greive (34) D
Sam C. Guess (6) R
James E. Keefe (3) D
Reuben A. Knoblauch (25) D
Ted G. Peterson (44) R
John N. Ryder (46) R
John H. Stender (30) R
Don L. Talley (18) D
Walter B. Williams (43) R
Perry B. Woodall (15) R

HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE

Don Eldridge (40) R Chairman
Thomas L. Copeland (11-B) R
Duane Berentson (8-B)R
Stewart Bledsoe (13) R
Frank Brouillet (25) D
Robert L. Charette (19) D
William Chatalas (33) D
Newman H. Clark (43) R
Edward F. Harris (7) R
Dwight S. Hawley (44) R
Helmut L. Jueling (28) R
Dick J. Kink (42) D
Gladys F. Kirk (36) R
Mark Litchman Jr. (45) D
Audley F. Mahaffey (46) R
John L O'Brien (33) D
Leonard A. Sawyer (25) D

Save The Arboretum Committee
4718 University View Place N.E.
Seattle, Wash. 98105
Chairman: Norman F. Sather

And our own P.O. address:
CARHT
P.O. Box 147
Seattle, Wash. 98111

HOUSE TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE

Al Leland (48) R Chairman
Duane Berentson (40) R Vice-Chrm
Otto Amen (9-B) R
Eric O. Anderson (19) D
Paul Barden (30) R
C. W. Beck (23) D
Horace W. Bozarth (12) D
Paul H. Conner (24) D
Norwood Cunningham (30) R
P. J. Gallagher (29) D
Avery Garrett (47) D
Dwight S. Hawley (44) R
Vaughn Hubbard (11-A) R
Elmer Jastad (20) D
Dan Jolly (16-B) D
Jim Kuehnle (4) R
William S. Leckenby (31) R
Mary Ellen McCaffree (32—A) R
Geraldine McCormick (5-A) D
John Martinis (38) D
William J. S. May (3) D
Irving Newhouse (8-A) R
Robert O'Dell (17) R
Robert A. Perry (45) D
Leonard A. Sawyer (25) D
William Schumaker (2-B) R
Keith J. Spanton (15) R
Alan Thompson (18) D
Fred A. Veroske (42) R
F. Wanamaker (10) R
Jonathan Whetzel (43) R
Hal Wolf (22) R

CARHT CITIZENS AGAINST THE R. H. THOMSON
Maynard Arsove, Chairman 2035 E. Newton Seattle 98102 EA 2-0386

CITIZENS ALERT FOR RAPID VERSUS HIGHWAY TRANSIT

August 5, 1969

The Honorable Floyd Miller, Mayor of the City of Seattle, and Mrs. Harlan Edwards, President of the City Council of the City of Seattle

Dear Mayor Miller and Mrs. Edwards:

On March 5, in a letter addressed to the Mayor and City Council (see enclosed copy), twelve community organizations called attention to a deplorable case of public action directly resulting in the downgrading of a viable, attractive city neighborhood. State Highway Department policy in the proposed R.H. Thomson Expressway corridor through the Montlake district had been simply to acquire property and allow it to decline into slum conditions.

City government, community groups, and the press all recognized this as an intolerable situation, and in the midst of the crisis the city agreed to take corrective action.

Now, fully five months later, in spite of the city's stated intentions the situation has worsened. Here are the facts:

1. Additional houses have been purchased by the state and allowed to deteriorate and blight the neighborhood.
2. Painting, repairs, litter cleanup, and yard maintenance are still sorely lacking in the publicly owned properties.
3. Weed covered lots with remnants of once fine houses remain in the unkempt condition they were left in after the houses were razed.
4. The state "no maintenance" lease has been replaced by a city "minimum maintenance" lease.

The March 5th letter branded the State Highway Department an "unfit landlord." It is now plain that the city, as well as the state, is ill equipped to cope with the problems of property management. Both the pride of private ownership and the incentives of private management are missing. In short, both the state and the city should stay out of the real estate business and avoid turning attractive neighborhoods of privately owned homes into neighborhoods of minimum-maintenance rental homes.

This sort of tampering with established city neighborhoods goes counter to the best interests of the city, and we urge that it be brought to a prompt halt.

Respectfully yours,

Maynard Arsove

Maynard Arsove

Enclosures

MINUTES OF CARHT EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING ON AUGUST 14, 1969

Meeting was called to order at 8:15 by Maynard Arsove. Ten persons assembled: Maynard Arsove, C. W. Cassinelli, Caroline Corson, Caspar Curjel, Kae Eyre, Bill Frantilla, Dave Rudo, Margaret Tunks, Patty Vye and Gene Warren.

An important part of the meeting time was spent watching Thursday Forum's Urban League presentation on highways with our own Dave Rudo, Tim Hill, Sonny Buxton, I. E. "Bob" Roberts with background voice-overs by Phyllis Lamphere and Maynard Arsove. Our group aim was to devise good questions for telephone participation.

While waiting for the program's commencement Maynard Arsove read a Baltimore clipping dealing with the Washington, D. C. hearing which sadly concluded behind locked and guarded doors.

Old business: The secretary asked for assistance in compiling a page of CARHT activities of the past year for use in the general membership Fall meeting. Minutes alone do not give adequate coverage of CARHT'S 1968-69 activities.

Okomoto/Liskamm: Margaret Tunks reported on some of her findings about the Okomoto/Liskamm contract. She suggests we get a copy of the O/L contract and compare it with the work progress reports, in order to illuminate some matters for speculation, including possible termination of the contract.

Senate Bill #1: 43 Senators in this 91st Congress with Muskie as spokesman have introduced this new bill which makes it worthwhile for people to not panic in the path of roadways. It further provides recompense and legal positions of equal standing for abutting property owners. Margaret Tunks who brought this interesting news says the Senate bill has not yet passed but its chances are reported to be good. The House Bill has not been introduced; it is certain to be virtually identical.

Some deliberation was given to ways of making immediate use of this bill's potential with respect to the Mt. Baker crisis. We also considered how to begin to inform all who will be interested. There is the possibility of using door to door flyers in Mt. Baker and anti-freeway newsletters will carry word of this.

Mount Baker crisis: Dave Rudo, fresh from TV arrived, to refer to an August 9 letter from CARHT to the Committee of the Whole of Seattle City Council requesting a hearing for the Mount Baker crisis. Because of council vacations and absences, the best compromise for avoiding delay will be a meeting Monday at 4 p.m. (August 18) in the council conference room with Tim Hill to be attended by some concerned Montlake, Mount Baker and Leschi representatives. Also, it was moved, seconded and passed to immediately write Seattle legislators Jackson, Magnuson, Adams and Pelly to point out there are certain requirements in the Federal Highway procedure which are not being observed and to appeal to their good offices to see this situation improved.

Forward Thrust: It was moved, seconded and passed that we write Forward Thrust asking for their written confirmation of our understanding that Forward Thrust is giving equal consideration to both rail line without the Thomson and to rail line with the Thomson.

DeLeuw-Cather design plans: It was moved, seconded and passed as proposed by Dave Rudo that the liaison group (TCC) send delegates to DeLeuw-Cather to see their design plans and to take up some of the vital issues concerning bridge crossings, time differences, cost differences, etc. Derek Wolfall and Bob Sowder will be contacted.

Seattle Magazine article: Maynard Arsove said the magazine has the proofs of the responses to Ruth Wolf's article. Wendall Lovett, Don Gibbs and Maynard Arsove tri-authored a rebuttal which will appear in the "Opinions" column.

Candidate questionnaire: It was moved, seconded and passed that we prepare a letter based on Bob Myhr's survey, listing the positions of all the candidates. The findings will be sent to all the community group signers of the March 5 OPEN LETTER to the Mayor and City Council

We should explore the possibilities of mailing out candidate responses to the questionnaire. CARHT should be empowered to do this. A 3-man committee of the President and First and Second Vice-Presidents perhaps should be the discretionary body deciding this.

Membership meeting: October was suggested as the best time in light of elections for the Fall General Membership Meeting.

During this present meeting we decided to hold over more details about the General Meeting, additional names for Board of Director nominations and discussion about the By-Laws until our next meeting. This meeting was adjourned at 11 p.m.

Patty Vye, Secretary

Maynard Arsove, President

There is a change of address for Caspar Curjel to 2217 E. Newton, 981

Next meeting: Thursday, September 11, 1969
8:00 P.M. at Arsove's
2035 E. Newton Street
EA 2-0386

BULLETIN! THERE IS TO BE A MEETING ABOUT MOUNT BAKER
Sunday September 14th at 4:30 in the
Our Lady of Mount Virgin Catholic Church
1531 Bradner Place South (Near Floating Bridge & Atlantic
it is visible from Empire, on the hill.)

P.O. Box 147
Seattle, Washington 98111

March 1970

CARHT

Dear CARHT Members:

Although your support of the determined efforts of CARHT has dealt the R. H. Thomson a serious blow, the battle is far from won. The massive I-90 Third Bridge project is the new threat, and we ask your continued support of CARHT as the confrontation over I-90 approaches.

The CARHT Executive Committee feels that the single most important action CARHT can undertake at the present time is to conduct a vigorous membership drive and information campaign. The public must be alerted to the implications of I-90 for the whole Puget Sound region.

Here is how you can help.

1. Renew your CARHT membership if you have not already done so.

2. Ask your friends and neighbors to join CARHT.

Membership forms are enclosed. CARHT is a volunteer organization, and all contributions go to expenses such as printing and mailing costs. (An issue of the CARHT Bulletin is due out soon, and we expect to offer more frequent mailings in the near future.)

At the moment, the freeway picture is about as follows.

R. H. Thomson Expressway. Mayor Uhlman and the city council have set aside the R. H. Thomson, but it still remains on the city's comprehensive plan. Highway Commissioner George Zahn and City Engineer Roy Morse make it plain that the R. H. Thomson is still part of their I-90 system.

I-90 Third Bridge. Design hearings on I-90 have been postponed until summer. With the Central Freeway already overloaded, highway builders have given no satisfactory answer as to how Seattle could handle the I-90 traffic. The massive I-90 project now proposed would surely force the R. H. Thomson, Bothell Freeway, Fourth Bridge, and an expanded Alaskan Viaduct or new inner city "ring road."

Bothell Freeway. The December 17th Bothell Freeway hearings were sharply criticized by freeway opponents in letters to state and federal officials. In response, the Federal Highway Administration has flown out two interviewing teams from Washington, D.C., to get citizen input as to how the hearings can be restructured. Hopefully, this will result in fairer hearing procedures.

Please help out in our membership drive.

Sincerely,

Maynard Arsove

Maynard Arsove, President CARHT

CARHT —
An organization dedicated to preserving established neighborhoods and parks and improving the urban environment.

FREEWAY CAPITAL OF THE WORLD – A PLAN TO DESTROY SEATTLE

THE CONCEPT: Automobiles first, people second.

Regional transportation planning, based on an obsolete study, calls for four north-south freeways through Seattle and five Lake Washington bridges.

- o *Freeways are to be spaced at one-mile intervals.* The proposed R. H. Thomson Expressway would run the entire length of the city only one mile from the Central Freeway (I–5). The Alaskan Freeway is even closer.
- o *Only token consideration is given to mass rapid transit.* The study is completely dominated by the highway viewpoint of moving cars, not people.
- o *No real weight is placed on what the city should be like for those who live and work in it.* Air pollution, noise pollution, visual pollution, loss of parklands, fragmentation of neighborhoods - all these human concerns are ignored.

THE GOAL: Seattle, Freeway Capital of the World.

The proposed one-mile freeway grid would provide Seattle with the densest freeway system of any city in the world. In fact:

- o *Los Angeles spaces its freeways about five miles apart.*
- o *San Francisco has halted freeway construction in favor of mass rapid transit.* Any new freeways through San Francisco must go underground.
- o *Cleveland has adopted a park-and-ride system of commuter trains.* Its recent airport extension is being expanded to meet heavy passenger demands, more than twice as great as predicted.

THE EFFECT: A city of concrete, cars and smog.

How Seattle would fare as 'Freeway Capital of the World' can be judged by some simple statistics

- o *Air pollution and smog.* In Los Angeles motor vehicles exhaust a staggering 13,000 tons of poisonous fumes into the air each day.
- o *Noise pollution.* Substantial noise patterns extend up to a mile from each freeway. The one-mile freeway grid would blanket Seattle with noise.
- o *Dislocation of residents.* Some 11,000 persons were displaced by I–5. Grave hardships are imposed on the elderly and on low-income groups.
- o *Neighborhood fragmentation.* Freeways form modern 'Chinese walls' that divide neighborhoods, disrupting established social and economic patterns.
- o *Central area impact.* City core destruction caused by urban freeways has been listed as a major factor in the Newark and Detroit riots of 1967.
- o *Loss of land from city tax rolls.* Land costs for I–5 alone totaled over $50,000,000. This land no longer pays city taxes.
- o *Inner city decay.* With 320 miles of new freeways in the past 20 years, Los Angeles business has experienced a 12% decline. Almost 70% of downtown Los Angeles is given over to automobiles, as compared with a national average of 28%.

THE BALANCE SHEET: Highway builders and suburban land developers reap the profits, but city residents pay the costs.

Highway lobbyists are hard at work in our legislature. Their aim:

- o *Highway contracts.* The proposed state highway budget is $824,000,000. Most of this comes from gasoline taxes generated by city streets.
- o *Suburban land development.* Demolishing our homes and parks for freeways means big profits for housing tract developers outside the city.

THE ALTERNATIVE: Mass rapid transit.

The highway lobby's solution "if you have a traffic jam, build another highway" hasn't worked so far, and it never can.

- o *Freeways generate their own traffic.* By reaching out past existing suburbs, freeways create sprawl and are soon clogged with new traffic.
- o *One track of rail transit equals twenty freeway lanes.* Only mass rapid transit can handle the peak-hour commuter loads efficiently.

THE CRITICAL STAGE: The R. H. Thomson Expressway.

Seattle must be saved from the fate of the one-mile grid. The key step is to prevent the catastrophe of the R. H. Thomson Expressway from occurring.

- o *Neighborhood destruction.* The Thomson would cut a wide swath through viable residential neighborhoods from Bothell in the north, through the central area, and past Beacon Hill to Duwamish in the south. Feeder roads and interchanges would take an additional toll of residential areas.
- o *Parkland erosion.* Very heavy traffic loads would be routed through the arboretum, sounding the death knell to this area as a place of quiet restful atmosphere. The last intact marshland lagoons of Union Bay would be paved over - a tragic, irreplaceable loss for this and future generations.

CARHT (Citizens Against the R. H. Thomson) P.O. Box 147, Seattle 98111

CARHT

P. O. Box 147
Seattle, Washington 98111

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION. I support the CARHT position –

AGAINST further freeways, expressways, and parkways that destroy established Seattle neighborhoods and parks,

FOR a comprehensive mass rapid transit system for the Seattle metropolitan region.

NAME _____ PHONE _____
Business Home

ADDRESS _____ ZIP CODE _____

1. MEMBERSHIP (Please specify):

___ Student Member	$ 1.00
___ Regular Member	5.00
___ Sustaining	10.00
___ Founding	25.00
___ Patron	50.00

Make check payable to CARHT.

Check enclosed for $_____.

2. I wish to contribute $_____to the legal action fund.

3. I wish to help with this important work by volunteering my efforts:

___ Typing, addressing envelopes, assembling materials.
___ Telephoning, letter writing.
___ Report writing, publicity work.
___ Attending hearings and mass meetings.
___ Circulating literature and petitions.

4. Special interests or professional skills: _____

5. COMMENTS: _____

_____

6. I suggest you contact the following interested persons:

NAME	ADDRESS	ZIP CODE	PHONE

DEC. 17th 7:00PM

ROUTE HEARING ON THIS SEGMENT OF SR 522 ANDERSON JUNIOR HIGH 18603 BOTHELL WY. N.E.

THESE ROADS CAN CAUSE THE R.H.THOMSON TO BE BUILT

SR 522
DESIGNED TO POUR NORTHEAST TRAFFIC INTO I-5 AT 75th

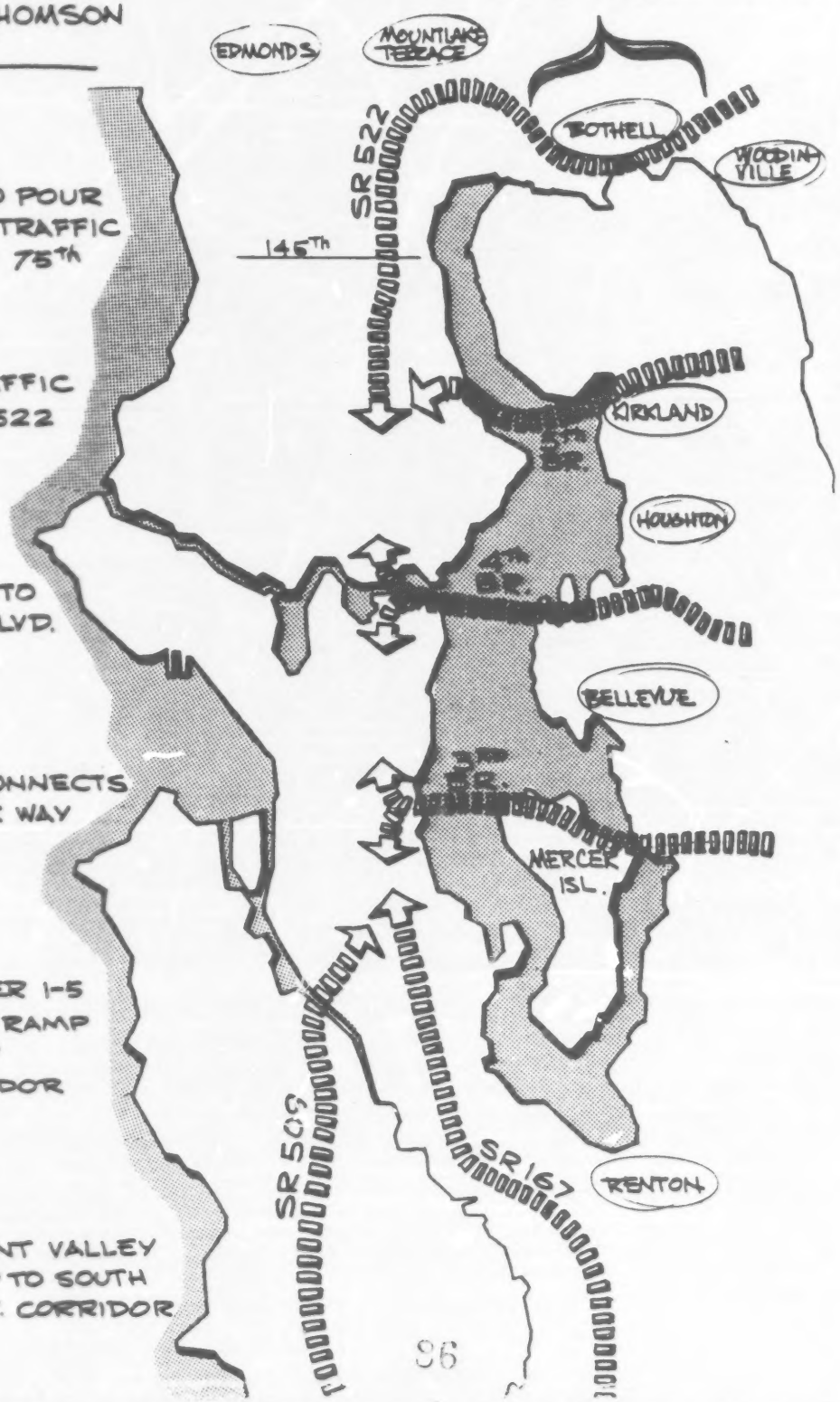
5th BRIDGE
BRINGS TRAFFIC ACROSS TO 522 AND I-5

4th BRIDGE
UNLOADS ONTO MONTLAKE BLVD.

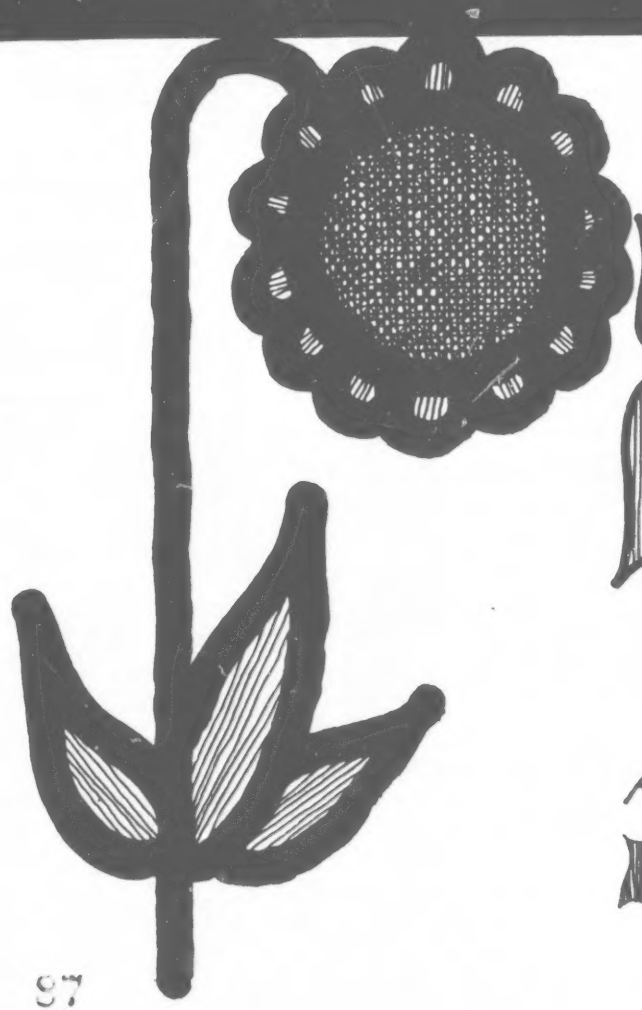
3RD BRIDGE
OFF RAMP CONNECTS WITH EMPIRE WAY

SR 509
PASSES OVER I-5 WITH A STUB RAMP POINTED AT RHT CORRIDOR

SR 167
BRINGS KENT VALLEY TRAFFIC UP TO SOUTH END OF RHT. CORRIDOR



PLANTS'
DON'T GROW IN
CONCRETE



SAVE THE ARBORETUM RALLY

SUNDAY · MAY 4 · 3 P.M.

ARBORETUM - 26th AVE E. & E. LYNN

FLOWERS · MUSIC · TALK

97

P.80

98